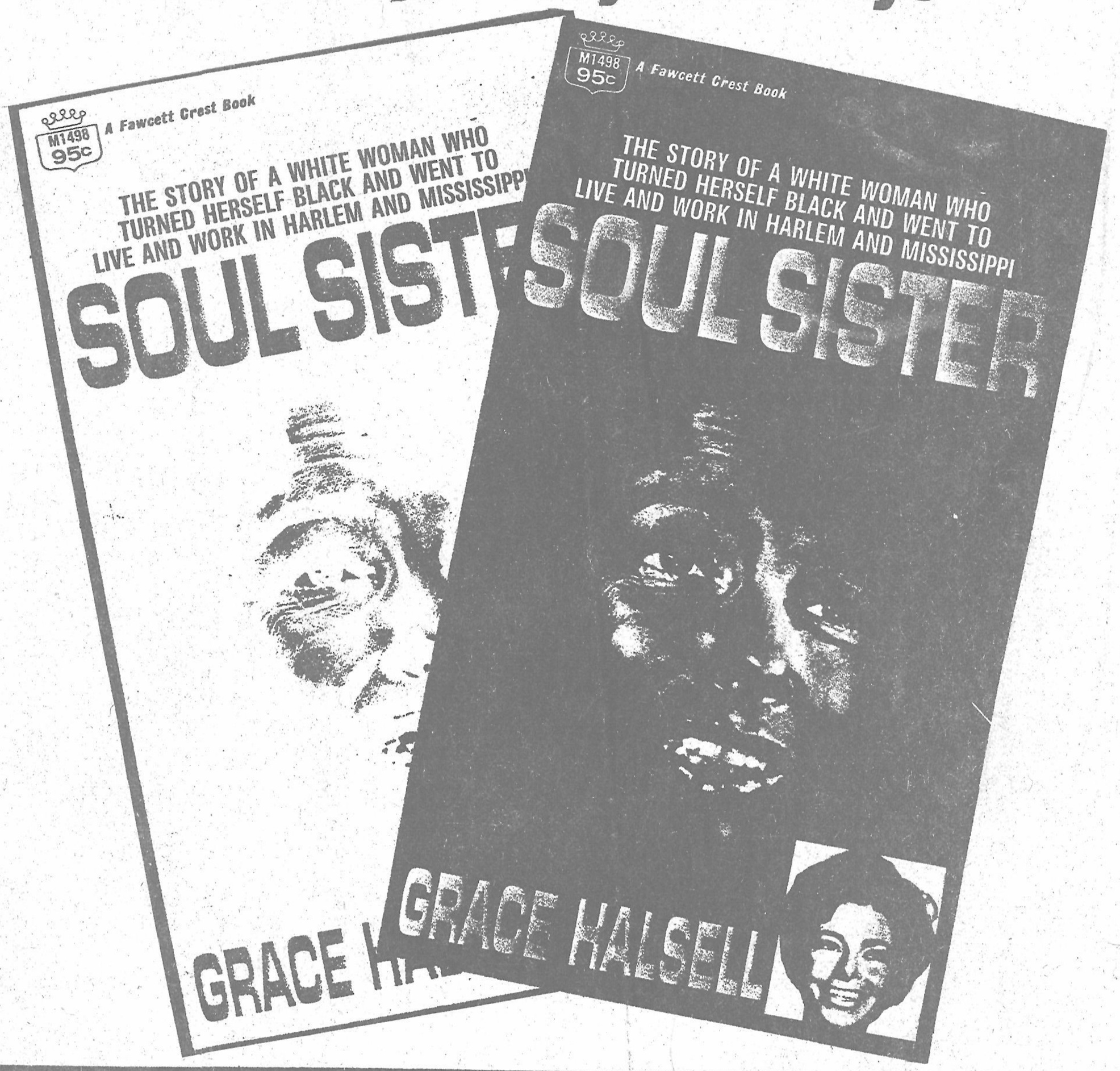
INTEGRATION

"Learn A Way To Say Good-Bye"



No. 5 summer 1990 **$1.00**

BOTTOMFISH BLUES

A Voice for the Amazon Nation

INTEGRATION "Learn A Way To Say Good-Bye"



As the genocide crisis grows out of control in amerikkka, scattering bodies everywhere, it's time to draw the balance sheet on integration & what it's really meant in the women's community. In this incredibly racist society, the women's community is almost unique in being a community that was founded with a commitment to integration. A community whose sisters think of themselves as being against racism. A community not directly controlled by white men. There is public silence among us--yet and again, the violent racial crisis shaking amerikkka is also a crisis in the women's community. But we don't wanna really look too hard at integration & what it's meant to us, to our community. This is what I mean to talk about, directly & bluntly as I can.

Let's deal with what integration really is in amerikkka. Let's strip it down. 'Cause integration has nothing to do with propaganda about black 'n white walking hand in hand into the sunset. It presupposes that there are women of at least two separate nations, one oppressor & one oppressed (else why would we need to fight to integrate?) After all, white women are in the patriarchal white amerikkkan nation. We sure don't got one of our own. We want and accept citizenship, don't we, with all its privileges and duties, in Dick's white nation? Black women aren't citizens in the white patriarchal nation. New Afrikan women are captives in amerikkka, not citizens. Integration recapitulates the old mistress-slave relationship of european to Afrikan--which is why we're not talking about integrating Indian women or Cambodian women. Just as slavery was a property relation, & segregation a property relation, so is integration a property relation at a higher historical point.

Integration presupposes something--<u>dis</u>-integration. That's the hidden thing no one's talking about. If you're integrating two things then at least one thing has to go, has got to give way & <u>dis</u>-integrate, the captured into the captors. So integration means someone's got to move, practically speaking. That's

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BOTTOMFISH BLUES

A Voice for the Amazon Nation

pretty clear. It's also clear that white women mean for New Afrikan women to do the moving. We sure aren't moving to leave our nation. No, they gotta leave their people & come better themselves by moving to us. Gotta leave their oppressed nation (dis-integrate) & help strengthen our white nation (integrate). That's what the racial crisis is now.

Stripped of the false sentiment and the dicky propaganda, integration is a solution for political white women and a problem for New Afrikan women. No matter how loudly we deny it, we should know in our bones that what we say is sisterhood ain't nothing of the kind. Integration is an attack on New Afrikan sisterhood.

Let's check integration now, after 20 years of progress. In both spheres, both in the outside society and in the women's community. As a baseline definition, let me say that integration for us is the system that lets white women take what they need from Black women while helping them to die as a people. And the real question is, how can we as amazons get out of the genocide game?

There were two incidents about integration last year that we need to break down, really learn from. One was the case of the seven New Afrikan women-children who attacked white women on Manhattan's integrated Upper West Side. The other is the response to the Dianne Davidson controversy at last year's integrated Michigan Womyn's Music Festival. Both

Positions of Influence

Women Are Liberating a Citadel of Male Power

By BARBARA GAMAREKIAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 17 — This capital, which was traditionally a man's domain in matters of power and influence, is now a woman's city, too.

Women now head corporate offices, manage Federal agencies, run staff operations on Capitol Hill and operate as highly visible lawyers and lobbyists.

All this is happening despite an initial lag on the part of the Reagan Administration in appointing women to top Federal jobs. According to the Office of Personnel Management, the number of women holding Presidential appointments dropped from 123 in 1980 to 62 in 1981. But since then the number has risen sharply.

Today, 227 women hold Presidentially appointed jobs, said Robert Tuttle, director of Presidential personnel. Among them is Mr. Tuttle's wife, Donna, who was named Deputy Secretary of Commerce this spring.

68 'Historical Firsts'

"What is unusual about this Administration is that 68 of the appointments were historical firsts," Mr.



The New York Times/Michael Geissinger

Among the increasing number of influential women in the Washington business community are, from assistant to the President and Cabinet Secretary; Rae F. Evans, vice president of national affairs for

events became big problems for the white women concerned. Now the seven women-children are dismissed as messed-up poor kids whose mothers are fuckups, seen em one you seen em all. Who acted up & who will soon be on dope, on welfare, or on prison anyway.

i think the case of the pinpricks sez it all about integration. Last November seven New Afrikan women-children, ages 12 to 15, were arrested for hit and run attacks using pins on at least 45 women, all of whom were white except for two Asians. For those few weeks there was mass panic on the Upper West Side, calls by white women for more police protection, and stationing of extra police on each block in the area. Once they were arrested, though, white sisters breathed a sigh of relief & forgot about them. And why not? Is it really news to white women that even the children of our colony hate us?

"'It isn't some mystery. It doesn't need a commission or a study,' said Rakayyah Howell, who directs a local anti-truancy program. 'The root of it is real simple. It's payback.'" PAYBACK, now there's an interesting idea on the horizon. In family court the woman judge, Leah Ruth Marks, delivered a racist diatribe to the girls before she found them guilty:

"Even in this courtroom many of you reacted with joy to your victims' descriptions of the pain and fear you drove into them as you stabbed them with your weapons...it seems to me that you took joy most of the time in harming women who appeared somewhat affluent, who

Lost Souls in a Machine



— A teen c

The children a city agency makes nomads

By Nina Bernstein

Twelve-year-old Tonisha stands on a trash-strewn sidewalk, her eyes shut tight against the gritty wind and her own tears. For months she has had no bed to call her own. Tonight she will have no bed at all.

Abandoned as a toddler, sexually molested at 11, Tonisha belongs to no one but the City of New York — and the city's Child Welfare Administration has made her part of its tribe of nomad children.

There are hundreds of them, foster children shuttled nightly from one temporary placement to another in a forced march that leaves them chronically short of sleep, food and medical care, waiting for permanent placements that may never come.

Their plight is not a secret. In September, 1987, U.S. District Judge Mary Johnson Lowe ruled in a suit brought by the Legal Aid Society that the city's then-makeshift practice of night-to-night placements violated the constitutional rights of these children, "for whom entering foster care has virtually meant joining the ranks of New York's homeless."

But three years later, with the number of children in some form of foster care approaching 50,000, the overnight treadmill is an even more systematic and entrenched part of an expanding foster care machine, relentlessly re-circulating those damaged children who haven't been absorbed into available slots.

In March alone, 534 children like Tonisha were subjected to the overnight system. One child was placed 25 different times that month. In all, 151 endured three or more placements in 30 days — 30 percent more than in July, 1986, when the first court hearings were held in the Legal Aid lawsuit.

These numbers reflect the city's failure to fulfill promises made in a tentative settle-

New York Newsday EDITION
SATURDAY, NOV. 4, 1989 • 25 CENTS

WEST SIDE ATTACKS

10 Arrests In Pin Case

Cops Say Schoolgirls Jabbed 41

Story on Page 3

took pride in their personal appearance, who seemed somewhat dignified and to have some purpose in life. If that woman also had long hair and was alone, your temptation to hurt her and ability to take joy in hurting her was irresistable."

This was after the courtroom had heard how the children were the truest victims. The oldest, a 15-year old charged as the "ringleader" (every slave rebellion must have a "ringleader" in Master's eyes), grew up in the Holland, notorious as one of NY's most violent welfare hotels. Two of the women-children, sisters ages 12 and 13, eat and sleep on a bare floor in part of their grandmother's crowded apartment. The 13-year old had become the "mother" at age 7, cooking and caring for her four younger siblings. When cops broke into another place to arrest yet another of the children, they found her living involuntarily in a crack den:

" 'The children were all alone in the dark, shaking,' recalled the woman who accompanied the police into the apartment last year. 'The four-year old was trying to cook grits on a hot plate.'"

Many of their parents were already dead, usually murdered, or in prison. These women-children, who have never known any other life than our present 20-year reign of equal rights & integration, are fighting best they can. i for one admire their courage.

The meaning in Judge Marks' verbal abuse went beyond her casual racist assumptions: i.e. that "pride in personal appearance," "dignified." "somewhat affluent," & having "purpose in life" = WHITE. As she admits, the seven women-children didn't attack old bag ladies or poor Latinas or blue-collar white women--all of whom are on the street in the highly integrated Upper West Side.

Their targets were those affluent white women of the affirmative-action generation. Precisely those upwardly-mobile professional & business white women who profited most from the struggles of the civil rights movement and the feminist movement. Who used those struggles to jump high up in Dick's empire. And what freaks those women out is precisely that their Upper West Side is so integrated. Because that's where college educated young whites have integrated housing by driving Blacks and Puerto Ricans out of block after block, building after building. Integration is a one-way street, where Third World communities dis-integrate and are absorbed piecemeal into the White Planet. It wasn't the white patriarchy which these white sisters helped dis-integrate, was it now?

The whole conflict was about nothing but integration, and even the kids are saying what time it is.

So after 20 years of integration, here's what it comes down to: white women talk all this "sister" shit when they want "minority" preference in jobs, but have the cops out in force to protect them from even the women-children of New Afrika. These children were sentenced at birth to terrorism, to chaos, and to early death, because our white empire no longer needs them alive & we're having a close-out sale on our ex-slave colony. We hate & fear them, we've cleverly imported millions of Latinas and Asian women to replace their labor so we don't have to do it, and now we want them to scatter and gradually die out just as the women of many Indian nations before them.

For these women-children just being alive is the real crime, and we've found them guilty as charged. Why shouldn't they strike out at the people whose everything comes from their nothing? "It was only a natural thing that happened," said one 13-year old of jabbing a white woman in the face. A 13-year old girl. What's being born? Do you dare to name it? That's one reason we want a few Black women around us, to deflect the anger & to protect us from other Black women and children.

Needles in Angry Hands

Why 9 neglected girls terrorized the Upper West Side

By Nina Bernstein

FOR A WEEK this fall, a band of black schoolgirls wielding pins against white women tapped the free-flowing fears of a city divided by race and haunted by AIDS.

Nightmare myths quickly grew around the racially selective attacks in one of the city's most integrated neighborhoods on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. It was rumored that the attackers used AIDS-infected hypodermic needles to jab their victims, that they were female members of a violent gang dubbed the Decepticons, that they represented a dangerous new form of teenage "wilding."

The panic subsided with the November arrest of nine girls aged 12 to 15. Safety pins, push pins and lapel buttons had been their weapons, police said, and they had carried out the unprovoked attacks on at least 45 women. The girls were released to their families, ordered to Family Court on charges of assault as juvenile delinquents and forgotten by the public.

But a closer look at their lives reveals a larger story, perhaps as chilling in its truths and implications as any myth. Pieced together through dozens of interviews, including conversations with several of the girls, and with relatives, neighbors and officials, it's a case study of throwaway children transformed into vengeful adolescents by a decade of public policy failure and family disintegration.

"The society has sown these children, so now it's reaping them," said Rakayyah Howell, who directs antitruancy activities for the Manhattan Valley Youth Outreach Program, a private, nonprofit social service agency that works with teenagers in upper Manhattan. "It isn't some mystery. It doesn't need a commission or a study. The root of it is real simple. It's payback."

"We did it for fun, and it was fun," one of those charged with assault in the attacks said in an extended interview earlier this month. A tall, heavyset girl of 13, she was apparently unrepentant on the eve of her second appearance on the case in Family Court. White women were targeted, she explained, smiling and shrugging, because "we knew they would be scared of us. They wouldn't do nothing. We was laughing."

There was little laughter in this girl's childhood. Born in Harlem to a 15-year-old unwed mother who quickly had five more children, she was responsible for cooking and most of the child care before she was 7. "She was robbed of her childhood," said the longtime companion of the grandmother who eventually took over custody of the six children.

In the months before the attacks, the 13-year-old and her 12-year-old sister, also a participant, slept and ate on the floor of the grandmother's West Harlem apartment, because it has too few beds and no table for the 10 to 13 people living there. Neighbors called the city's Department of Social Services last summer — to little effect — complaining that the girls were on the streets until the wee hours, sometimes with their year-old baby brother on one hip.

Another girl arrested, a 14-year-old accused of sticking a pin in the eye of

Please see ATTACKS on Page 24

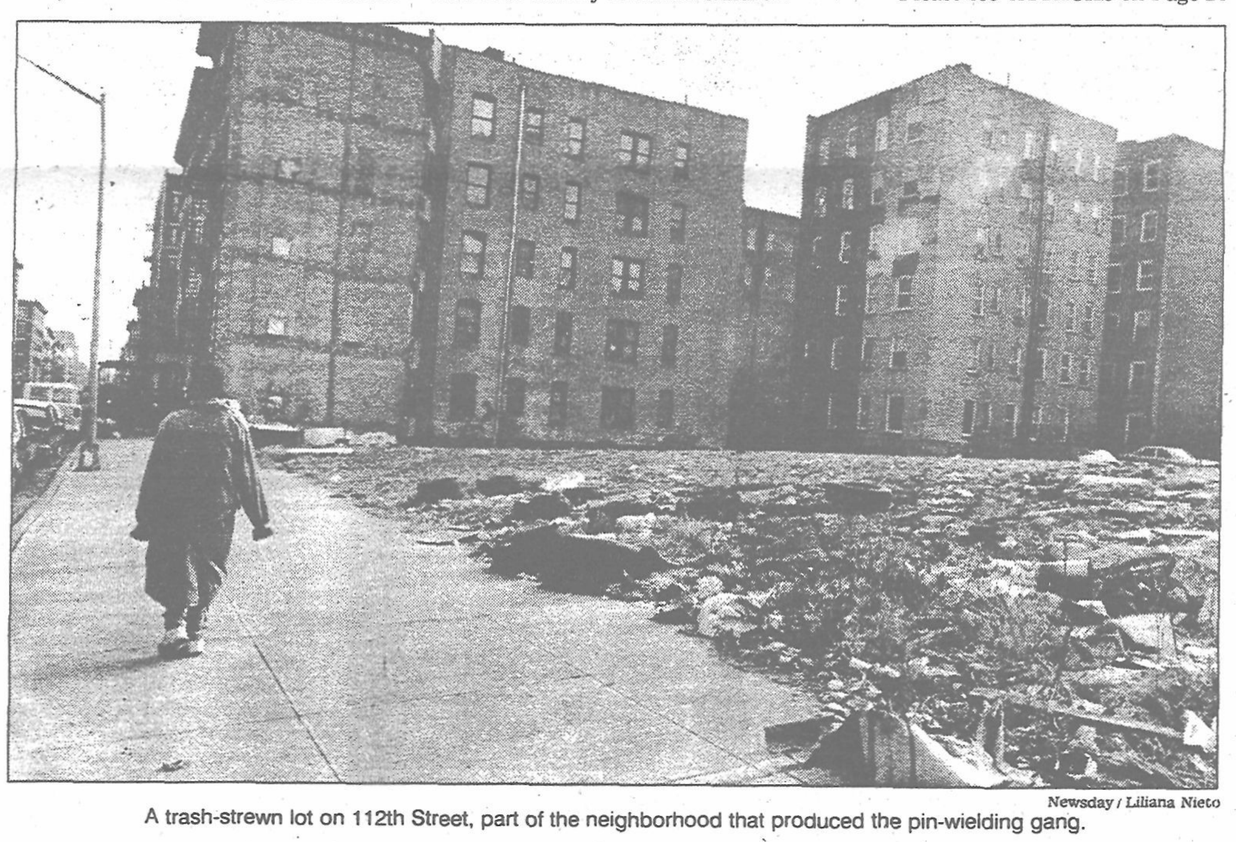


Newsday / Lili

The area along Broadway on the Upper West Side where many of the pin attacks occurred.

'We did it for fun, and it was fun.'

—A 13-year-old g charged in the attac



Newsday / Liliana Nieto

A trash-strewn lot on 112th Street, part of the neighborhood that produced the pin-wielding gang.

Festival Workers' Statement

Saturday we had a Town Meeting in order to actively undo Racism both conscious and unconscious. This translates into naming racist attitudes and behaviors as we see and hear them. Friday night Dianne Davidson introduced a song by saying, and I paraphrase, "every white family in the South with a little bit of money would hire a Black woman to raise their children. It was the smartest thing my parents ever did." Dianne then went on to sing a song describing how wonderful an experience that relationship was for her, and how she found comfort in "ebony arms."

Given the community commitment to make clear the full meaning of such statements, we must make clear that there is nothing comforting about the institution of slavery from which this tradition grew. The context doesn't address the historical and current conditions which make it possible for a white woman with "a little bit of money" to hire a Black woman to raise white children.

The song focused solely on Dianne's experience while excluding the Black woman's experience. This perpetuates racism, which allows whites to benefit from the oppression of Blacks. It is important that both Black and white women address the historical and current racist overtones of our relationships. White women cannot continue to make the experience of Women of Color invisible.

Dianne was given the opportunity to respond to our concerns as described in this statement. Her official response was "No comment."

Saying that it is smart to hire a "mammy," is saying that it is smart to be racist. White women must accept the responsibility to recognize and interrupt such racism in our home communities and at our community gatherings.

If we are serious about creating an actively anti-racist community, white women must recognize and immediately interrupt racism. ■

Womanews/October 1989

Let's bring this closer to home. How come nobody speaks on those New Afrikan women-child amazons? Why the silence? i mean, this trial should have been an exciting event for political women. Shoulda drew women activists to it. All those women agree how brave the young women-children of Soweto are, confronting the oppressors. And the Palestinian women-children of the Intifada, hurling stones at the white oppressors. Forcing a reluctant world to bow in recognition. But when these New Afrikan women-children do the same thing right here, everyone falls silent. Are your chickens coming home to roost?

Instead, we left it to the men's press to brand them as social basket cases & their mothers as worse. So those women we destroy we forget as losers & those women who fight back we try to dismiss as losers. And we only want our white State to make it all go away (tho it won't!).

Interesting isn't it that when something "unspeakable" happens like the Central Park Rape everyone speaks on it. Everyone wants to feel involved, money & concern pour in, debate happens, there's even a defense campaign. But this which should be spoken on draws only silence. Especially, most especially, from our integrated women's community, our publications and organizations. Womanews, NYC's women's newspaper, belatedly had a short story on it. Neither they nor anyone else organized any support about this.

So why can't sisters who tell us all about Palestine and South Africa see the same thing when it happens right here? It has a lot to do with this phony integration, with this shining lie that we're a movement of & for all sisters. It's only when you admit that New Afrikans are a colonized nation, that you can see what these kids are doing--albeit crude and not thought out--as resistance against oppression.

The whole mindset of the integrated women's movement, that we are for all sisters together, shields white women from being recognized as oppressors of other women. It takes a shining vision of the future & says that's what relationships are now, instead of the harder reality we start from. Simple black and white information isn't recognized by the mind in a clean, crisp way. So the integrated women's community can't talk about the seven because to talk of the justice of women-children as incipient New Afrikan amazons would break the illusion. And you're married to the illusion.

Understand that overcoming this integration is no side issue. It's the most important thing we can do. Our shallow ideas of sisterhood and our willing complicity in men's crimes are all knotted together in our white racism, much more than we understand right now. This is the central struggle in our community. In the long run it will answer our first question: who the "we" are.

Last summer our racism bolted right out of the closet into the middle of the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival. There was already controversy about singer Dianne Davidson. In the Spring, an interview with the women's journal Sojourner had led to criticism & an intense exchange of letters. The controversy & letters in lesbian journals still continue.

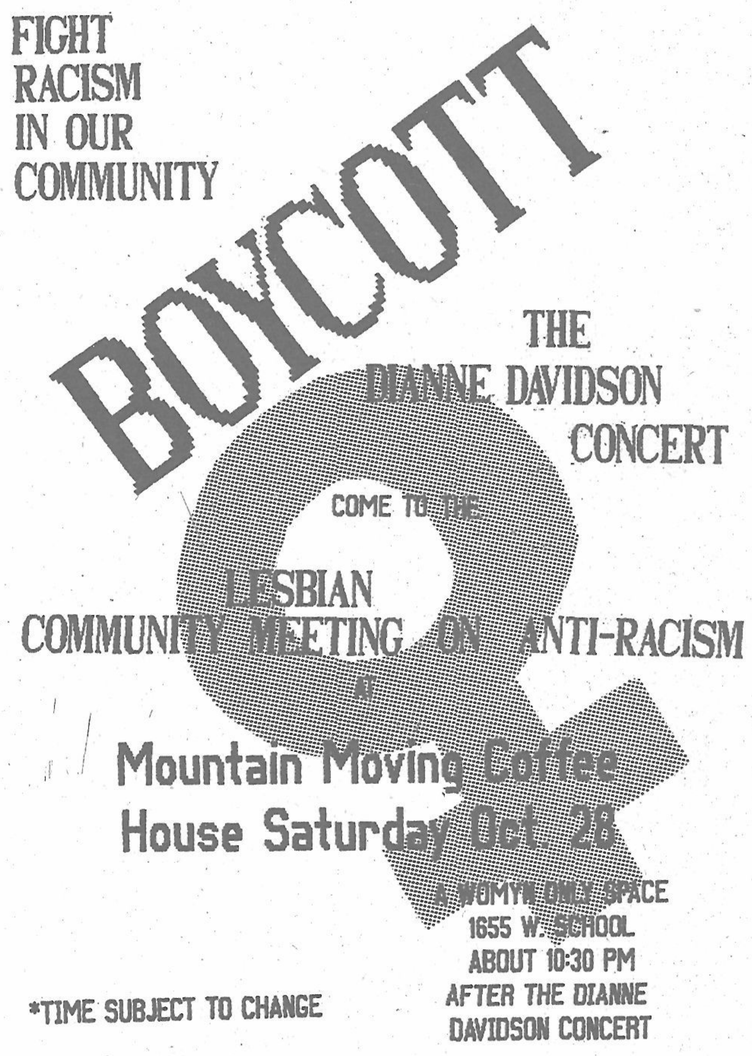
Davidson comes from a small-town Southern background. From the time she was five days old she was cared for & essentially raised by her family's New Afrikan servant, Hattie Ruth Simon. Davidson sings a song sentimentalizing this relationship, in a tradition indulged in by white Southerners ever since slavery days. She also says that she "wasn't white" in her previous life & that her servant woman was sent to her by some goddess or spirits to help her make this racial transition. Or something like that.

On Friday nite when Davidson did these same things from the stage at Michigan, there was some shock & some anger. Led by New Afrikan and Latina sisters, most of them long-time Festival workers and performers, backstage discussions began about interrupting the racism. An official Festival workers' statement was read on-stage on Sunday that criticized Davidson for "perpetuating racism", and ended:

"White women must accept the responsibility to recognize and interrupt such racism in our home communities and at our community gatherings."

On Saturday, the Festival had scheduled not merely a workshop, as is customary, but for the first time an all-festival Town Meeting on fighting racism, which 500 women took part in. One good result of that meeting was C.L.E.A.R.--Chicago Lesbians Emerging Against Racism (see C.L.E.A.R. Statement). According to a friendly article by Ginny Berson and Achy Obejas in Windy City Times, C.L.E.A.R. began when seven white sisters who'd been thru Michigan heard that Davidson was going to perform at Mountain Moving Coffeehouse on October 28, 1989. This white group took the responsibility for interrupting our community's racism, calling a boycott of the concert & an anti-racist workshop there afterwards.

This boycott and the heated political discussions that took place around it both with Mountain Moving and in the press



'The Anti-Racist Initiative Is Long Overdue'

By Ginny Z. Berson
and Achy Obejas

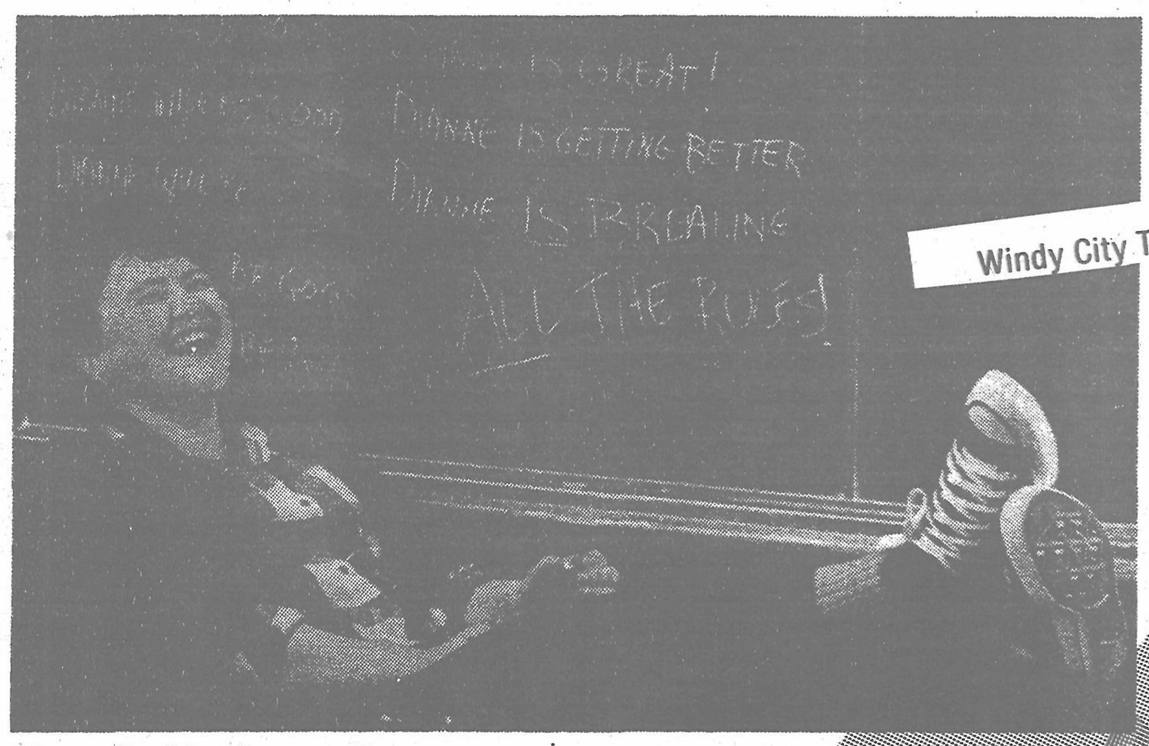
It was at this summer's Michigan Womyn's Music Festival that Chicagoan Jill Burgin and about 500 other women made a personal commitment to return to their home communities and "interrupt" racism.

At the festival's first-ever Town Meeting on anti-racism work, Burgin and the others heard the usual complaints about the festival's insensitivities. Also compiled at the Saturday morning meeting was a long list of suggestions on how the fest could do better.

But perhaps more importantly, workshop facilitators proposed anti-racism strategies and encouraged women of all colors to take responsibility—to speak up and take action when they saw racism being practiced.

"I had always been concerned and frustrated by racism," said Burgin. "I came back from Michigan thinking that we do a good game of talking, but we really have to get out there and do something about it."

Burgin, Joy Walker, Helen Pytlewicz, Janine Hoft, Ann McCallister, Laura McAlpine, and Dee Henn—all white women concerned about racism—banded together to form Chicago Lesbians Emerging Against Racism (CLEAR), which has organized its first event: a boycott of Dianne Davidson's October 28 concert at Mountain Moving Coffeehouse, followed by an anti-racis-



Dianne Davidson's new album.

goers. This year, the anti-racist work began as the first women arrived on the land, weeks before the actual festival.

The "official" worker packet—which usually consists of a welcome letter from producers Lisa Vogel and Boo Price, maps, rules and procedures, forms and the like—also included a four-page document, "Anti-Racism: T" Program," written by long workers Blanche Jacks Threeri to ca' fes'

To her credit, H got back on st apologized, and explained her familiarity with disability is acknowledging that her consci had been raise

So after Dav and Price, as Casselberry Davidson respo

Windy City Times / Thursday, October 26, 1989

and feelings private if I so choose."

Dianne Davidson did not return *Windy City Times'* phone calls.

"She and I talked about all this, of course," said Dlugas sh doesn' sometimes I know doesn't say anything at all. But i like she thinks it's okay that th slavery."

* * *

Jill Burgin said CLEAR wa everything to give Dianne chance to explain what didn't really know at firs responded," she said. " read *Sojourner* yet."

They decided to see if the contro steps it desc

led to some real understanding amongst all the sisters involved. Things didn't end with the usual dismissive mea culpa.

The idea of white women acting for ourselves, in our own name, not hiding behind Third World women & men as we usually do on this subject, is so positive because it gives us another choice to what has become the dishonest soap opera of integration among us. It helped some white sisters take responsibility that is really ours, while letting Third World sisters be free to take part & relate in the ways & degrees that fit their own agenda. That really came out in the Windy City Times story:

"'Traditionally, it's always been put to women of color to explain racism,' said Burgin. 'We decided that had to change.'

"'Most of the sisters I know don't even know she's on the planet,' said Donna Weems, president of the Literary Exchange and an activist in the Black lesbian community, by way of explaining why there's been no clamor about Davidson among Black lesbians. 'But this business of white women taking the initiative on anti-racist work is long overdue. I was heartened to hear this.'

"'I think it's very good when white women try to raise their own consciousness about racism,' said Carmen Aguilar, a member of Latina Lesbians En Nuestro Ambiente (LLENA). 'Of course, we too need to help frame certain issues so that they have an understanding. Besides, it's important we all be involved in order to have a real sense of community.'"

To me the focus isn't Davidson. And it's wrong to make her out to be some one-woman epidemic of racism. It ain't about her. It's about what the response to her in our community reveals. All along, most women in the community have considered these attitudes to be acceptable. That's the main thing. Even after her racism was out of the closet in the Sojourner interview & the controversy was on, the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival still thought it ok for her to perform. No problem. And even after the protest from Festival workers--and her refusal to admit anything wrong--feminist coffeehouses and concertgoers still thought her ok. No problem.

It's only cause the women she steps on are New Afrikan that we think it's ok. If a visiting white South African singer had popped up at Michigan to say how nice it was that her Afrikan servant from Soweto loved her, and if one Afrikan sister in the audience had protested, Ms. Boer would have been sent flying. Instant apologies all around. But New Afrikan women, ah, that's different to us somehow. That's what the Davidson controversy revealed.

The ugliest thing at Michigan by far was the booing that greeted the Festival Workers Statement (mixed in with cheers and applause). It was good that so many sisters came to the Town Meeting about fighting racism, but the vast majority chose not to take part. Aren't we reaching a nodal point, where even the routine pretense of sisterhood is coming apart? Among us as in the larger society. When we don't care to fake it anymore? Lots of us were shocked that sisters would boo an anti-racist statement, or that Alix Dobkin (who read it & is one of the most respected white musicians in the women's community) would be booed by women. But i think it was good, it got folks' real loyalties out there. It was an honest expression of integration among white lesbians and feminists.

FACT: Hundreds of white women were pissed that Third World and white sisters angry about racism against New Afrikan women were taking up time in our once a year lesbian vacation, when we wanna celebrate the sheer freedom of

The Code of Silence

CLEAR is a group of womyn in Chicago doing anti-racism work that formed following the anti-racism town meeting at the 1989 Michigan Womyn's Music Festival. We believe that white womyn must assume responsibility for actively challenging and confronting racism on all levels, in ourselves, in each other, and in the community at large. We feel that white womyn must prioritize dealing with racism and recognize the inherent privilege we have obtained as participants throughout history in an oppressor nation.

In our work we have often encountered a blockade of silence among white lesbians that slows and erodes the process of identifying and confronting racism in our community. This is expressed in the way that we communicate about racism and anti-racism work, often taking the form of code words that obscure and deflect our focus from the urgent need to deal with racist acts. These code words close down any meaningful communication and keep us silent, allowing us to avoid taking responsibility for our racist attitudes and behaviors. When confronting racism in the lesbian community we have encountered many examples of the use of this code of silence as a smoke screen to cloud the real issues. Here are a few examples of code words in action.

"We should be careful not to just POINT THE FINGER." The assumption is that there is something wrong with confronting each other and that it is from vicious or unjust motives. This allows us to continue to feel like good people while condoning racism in our community.

"Why are you GOING AFTER YOUR OWN." The idea comes up often that we should concentrate on confronting racism outside and not within the lesbian community. We should be working to confront racism in society at large, but if we don't deal with the racism in the white lesbian community then we are building a culture that will be no different than the patriarchy we espouse to break with. Doing work with other lesbians comes out of a commitment to build a strong lesbian culture. Racism lessens our personal lives and in the lesbian community isolates us, tears us apart and thwarts our efforts to build a culture that nurtures and liberates us. Prioritizing anti-racism work is vital to our individual growth and the growth of womyn's culture and womyn's community.

To confront someone in the community about racist acts means that you care and you have enough guts to say you don't agree. There are a variety of ways of confronting racism and it is important that we try to find the most appropriate way in each situation. It is more important however, is that we actively confront it, not ignore it because we're afraid of stepping on someone's toes, or fear of confrontation will keep us silent participants in oppression.



"The controversy around this will DIVIDE THE COMMUNITY." Which community does this comment refer to? Our community is already divided along racial lines. Usually the concern is that conflict within the white lesbian community will be somehow devastating and/or we will hurt someone's feelings. We should not accept the implication that the lesbian community is so fragile that struggling through our racism will cause us to be more divided than we already are.

"Why don't you go after the REAL RACISTS?" If we view racism as the white disease it is, and recognize that it is institutionalized oppression, then we have to conclude that every white person has some form of racism that needs to be dealt with. None of us escape this disease because we reap the benefits of our privileged position in society all our lives. In order to begin to undo this we have to actively fight to identify and change racist behaviors and attitudes in ourselves and each other. A racist is a racist regardless of sexuality.

"We have to DEAL WITH OUR OWN personal RACISM." This is a fact, we do have to deal with our own racism, but this is not a valid reason for not doing anti-racism work. None of us are experts on racism or the way to change it in ourselves and other people, but we have a responsibility to learn.

"It doesn't FEEL SAFE to deal with my racism here." Often white women have a great deal of guilt and it makes them feel defensive or threatened when the subject comes up. Feeling safe in this context refers to emotional safety and feelings of discomfort. This is an easy out for white women, and is evasive in the context of a discussion of racism or anti-racism work. We need to remember that racism results in genocide against people of color; women of color are really not safe because of racism, not just uncomfortable.

These code words in the white lesbian community allow us to talk about racism, agree that racism exists among us, but stops us short of dealing with each other about it. We give each other permission to rationalize, minimize, deny and excuse. This results in a silencing of conflict that we must challenge.

There is much resistance within us and against us in confronting racism and we are going against a very old and powerful pull in the dominant culture. We white womyn typically react with defensiveness, hostility, denial, and excuses when confronted with our racist acts or attitudes. As soon as talk of anti-racism work begins we start bantering code words back and forth and soon conclude that there are other kinds of work we should do in our community. To begin to change we have to be willing to own our racism and be open to dialogue and criticism.

If we are about building a lesbian culture that is not just a microcosm of the oppressive society we live in, we have to make anti-racism work a priority in our community. White culture has always been and continues to be dependent for comfort and security on the institutionalized oppression of people of color. We must make anti-racism work a priority because racism is not just a bad idea or bad attitude, it supports a system based on the exploitation of and aggression against people of color.

A first step in taking responsibility for our racism is to refuse to participate in the use of code words a smoke screen. Another is to refuse to ignore racist comments, attitudes and actions simply because the racist is a lesbian, and actively confront racism in our community. Absolutely necessary is an examination of our own personal attitudes and behaviors to try to begin to undo the process of racist indoctrination that we have received from society.

As Malcolm X said almost twenty years ago, "Whites who are sincere should organize themselves and figure out some strategies to break down the prejudice that exists in white communities. This is where they can function more intelligently and more effectively, in the white community itself, and this has never been done."

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High AIDS Rate Among New Moms

One of every 77 in the city infected with deadly virus

By Laurie Garrett

One of every 77 women who gave birth in New York City last year was infected with the AIDS virus, according to a state Health Department study published today.

Statewide, one of every 150 women was infected, says the report appearing in today's Journal of the American Medical Association.

"I do think this documents what many have suspected, that we have substantial rates of infection among women and newborns," said the lead author, Dr. Lloyd Novick of the Health Department. The results parallel a preliminary report in July, based on six months of the study.

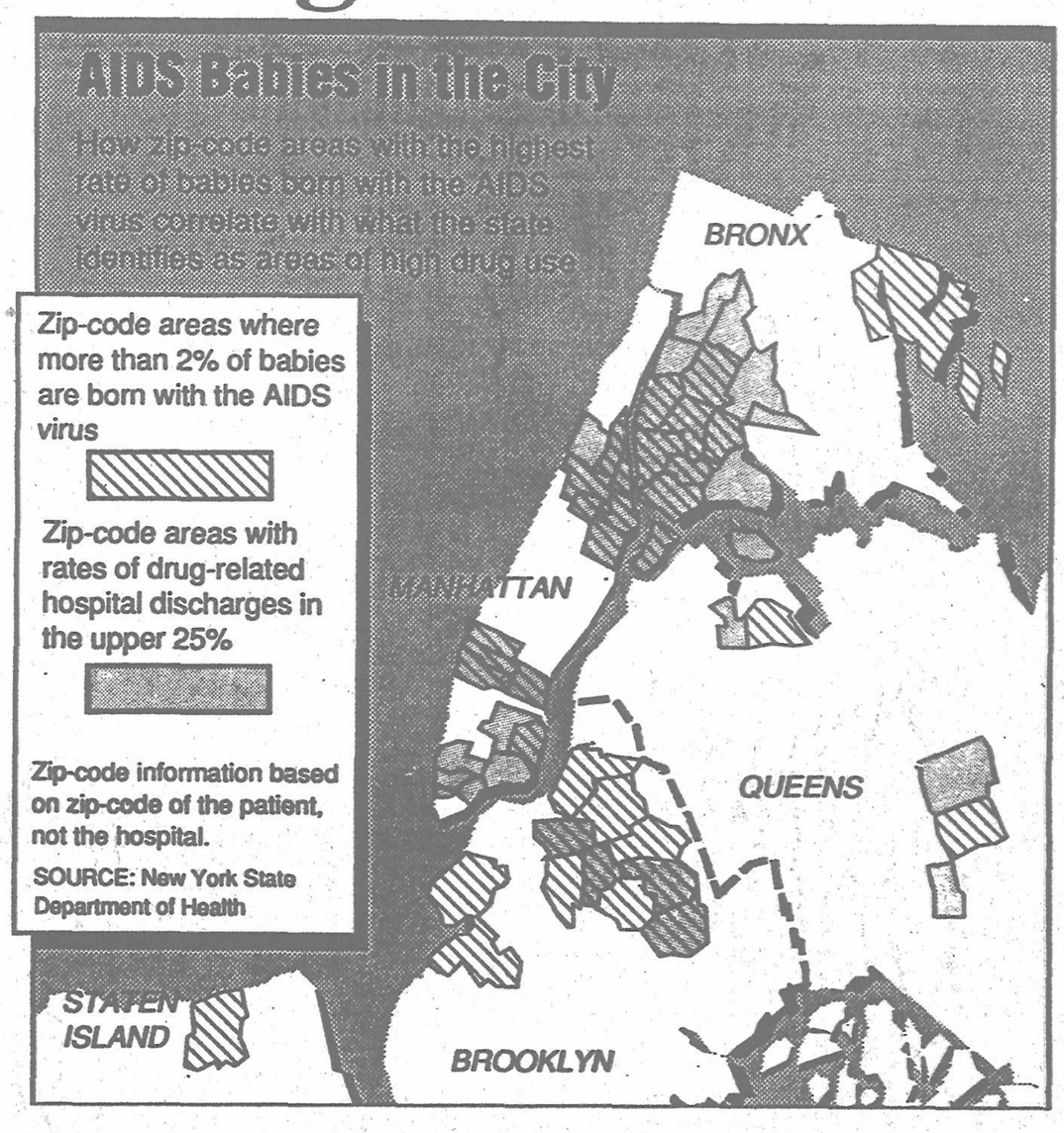
The state collected blood samples from all babies born in hospitals, as well as demographic information, but not the names of the mothers. In the year beginning November, 1987, 276,609 blood samples were collected.

During that period, 1,816 babies carried the AIDS virus antibodies, indicating their mothers may have passed on the infection during pregnancy. Using among intravenous drug users, said epidemiologist Nancy Padian of San Francisco General Hospital. "And to my knowledge," she added in an interview, "there really isn't any good data on the number of women who got HIV [the AIDS virus] as a result of sexual exposure alone."

Padian said the state's conclusion that one out of every 150 women in New York is infected is a bit misleading because the infections are clearly concentrated in a few city neighborhoods. In 33 neighborhoods — including Harlem, East Harlem, the South Bronx, East Flatbush, Bedford-Stuyvesant and Jamaica — the infection rates are two to four times higher than the city average of 1¼ percent of women of childbearing age.

"It's very important to understand," said Padian, "that the bulk of the problem is found in little pockets."

This "pocketing" of the epidemic makes the public health effort more manageable, said Novick, because AIDS education can be targeted at women in those areas.



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living in a women-only environment. There's an attitude that "their" job is to entertain us, but otherwise we want "them" to shut the fuck up. We got "them" outnumbered so it's all ours. Our racism is edging more & more out there, as Dick's genocide gains momentum and all white folks get more cocky. Many white sisters feel they don't even have to pretend to care anymore.

What I'm saying is that it's not Dianne Davidson who's the outsider. That her view, her integration with her very own New Afrikan woman, is representative of something very deep in our community & in our "women's culture." Sure, Dianne Davidson loves her New Afrikan servant woman--why shouldn't she? Her "mammy" cooked her food & washed up after her, cleaned her clothes, took care of her, taught her & kept her company. One way all the way. Why shouldn't she love that? That's why lots of white Southern men, from Robert E. Lee to Buford Bigot, have always went on how they love their "mammy." And they all say they're not racists, too. Dianne Davidson boasts how she's a daring non-conformist, a "rule-breaker" as she puts it. White women have bought into this image because it flatters themselves, but Davidson's beliefs are as "nonconformist" as the confederate flag.

New Afrikan sisters have been pointing out this "black mammy" shit to white feminists for...oh, about 150 years or so now. Maybe we should have a centennial celebration, at least. Every year they havta start all over, repeat it again. Somehow, someway, white women with college degrees and phds, who run olivia records, can't remember this basic thing. NOW, in 1990 (after over 20 years of integration) it's still a controversy to us--maybe "Black mammies" are good, maybe it's bad, we don't know. 'Course, what it is, is we don't care. Dianne Davidson isn't anything special--she's our cultural representative. Because in our culture, New Afrikan women are an appliance to us, our feminist property to improve our lives, to entertain us & support our community, to make it even easier to be white . Hey, what happens to them and their real children we don't care--they can go die unless we need them for some reason.

It's kinda dialectical. i mean, who needs to integrate? White sisters like to say, we love to say, we have so much to offer (politics, resources) while Black women have so little. Without our help they're powerless. But, lady, white women ain't got nothing yet of our own to give. Nothing but money. Nothing but some thing we're dependent on white men's power for. Better believe it.

It isn't Black women who need white women's resources, it's white women who need Black women's resources. That's why, without ever posing it as a conscious decision, white women have almost universally chosen not to form white women's groups to fight racism in our community, but took up urging integration on Black women as a substitute.

Twenty years ago at the start of the modern women's movement, this situation existed: There was a struggle for Black Power & independence. There was a struggle for Sisterhood, with sisterhood being defined as all women. Our politics were taken muchly from the Black movement, at least many key ideas--separatism, consciousness-raising, and identification with the oppressed on a world scale. Although the situation in the Black movement was very reactionary in terms of women, there was a general symmetry between political Black men and political white women that New Afrikan women should be integrated into both of these movements. And throughout the 20 years, New Afrikan women have remained marginalized inside both movements that claim them as property (it's your typical joint custody fight). New Afrikan women have strongly resisted inside both movements. Many refuse to deal much with either movement and are searching for better answers.

White women needed New Afrikan women in a big way. Need to steal their politics & culture, need them as front women, need to colorize the white women's movement. Need to disguise the lack of serious politics among white women. The situation is the same today.

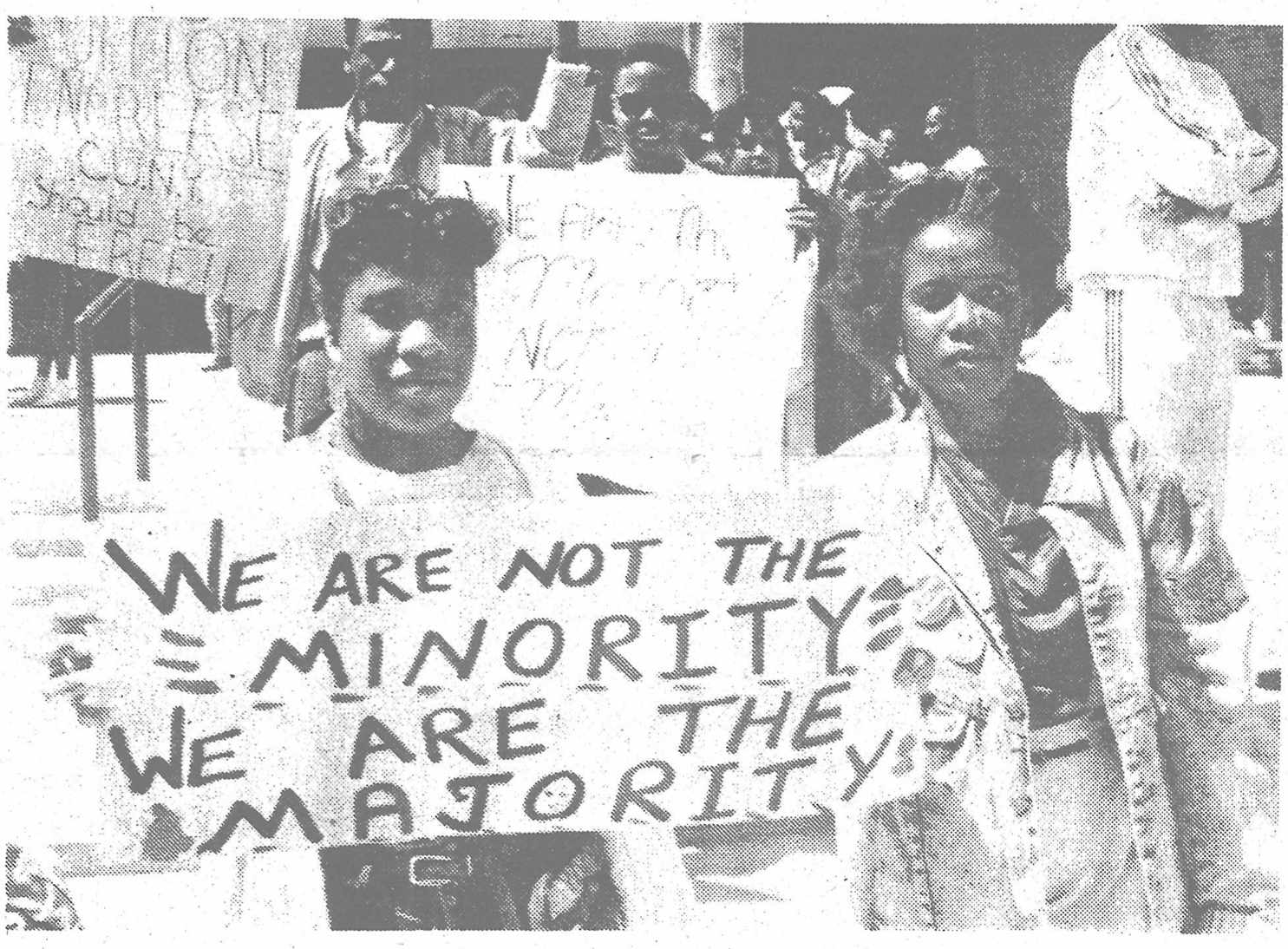
It's white women, as the largest and best-educated and best-connected "minority" in the affirmative-action scam, that have profited most in new careers, promotions, business ventures, property ownership, and upward stepping mobility. Dick grumbles at having to share anything from his plate, but he needs us to help him keep the loot within the Great White family. It would be hard

to get away with our white power feminism if everyone saw it as it is, so we need to colorize our community a little. We need just enough Women of Color--but never so many that our agenda would be changed... So we can pretend we're for all women, not just ms. number one.

Which is why we need to steal New Afrikan women's politics. So we can claim to have a women's consciousness that we don't have. You have only to look at the Dianne Davidson mess--or a thousand others--to figure out that we, just by ourselves, aren't anti-racist at all. We can repeat the words by rote but we don't know how to live it. Left to our lonesome we'd look like politically backward, unsensitive white bigots. That's why we need them as our cleaning women, to keep washing up our community, keep wiping the dirt off our faces. Fronting for us. We leave it to Third World women to catch the worst racist "slips", to protest. Then we say, "Our community is fighting racism." No, ain't no "our", no "we." They are doing it & we're coasting off it. And, of course, we need their energy and strength and ideas to help build Jane's house. To help build institutions and organizations that are our property & that they get something out of (else they wouldn't do it), but which will never be theirs.

Black women are unique to us. We got a special thing about them, which you & i know in our guts but we can't talk about in public. Unlike Indian or German or Palestinian women, we deny New Afrikan women their nationality. Alone, of all the women on the face of the earth. No one denies that Lakota women or Nicaraguan women have their own nation whose situation & struggles they are part of. But Black sisters, we really feel that they are ours, out of hundreds of years of their involuntary sharing & involuntary caring for us. We demand that they stay by our side, be a "gift" to our community to help us make this transition. To give it their strength & their soul. It's more important that New Afrikan women educate us & help us than take care of their own--our problems come first. We demand that they leave their nation for us.

'Course we put it on New Afrikan women's weakness. Say Black men are too violent, too homophobic, too islamic, too everything for them to deal with. Think we're doing the charitable thing, always skimming some of the most conscious New Afrikan women for our community. Take the few & leave the many. Do we really believe that New Afrikan sisters can't take care of themselves? i don't know what direction New Afrikan women will choose . How they will solve their problems. But i do know they ain't on earth to solve mine.



The thing is, we really fear New Afrikan women even more than we do men. When the Black pin-prick hysteria on the Upper West Side was going on, I couldn't help thinking of "The Birds." You know, that old Alfred Hitchcock movie. Here we just assume those birds are out there, flying 'round doing their harmless thing, for us to use however we feel like. Shoot em out of the sky for fun, listen to their music for lifting our souls, then roast em up for din-din. Love those birds. But then ("It's not nice to fool Mother Nature!") the birds get the word & everywhere around the world, white civilization perishes as billions of fedup birds, in relentless waves, swarm over & peck to death every last white person. Wow! Moviegoers were terrified. Whites were shocked that they'd never thought of the obvious--you mean something we use & take for granted might resent us, might do payback? i think it wasn't birds that whites were so unconsciously guilty and worried about. We know that what we've done to New Afrikan women for generation after generation is so cruel & anti-woman that if it were us--and if we got the chance for payback--why we'd... That's why the panic last Fall, when white women were taking cabs to their front doors after work, only going out with escorts, avoiding Black women, wanting more police protection... All 'cause of seven women-children.

When i speak on the silence in our community about all this, i'm not talking about evil people--i wanna emphasize that--but about the degrading & anti-woman effects on all of us from this phony integration. Sisters work for years at educating & building, only to see things slide backwards time after time. Look at Womanews, which has always been one of the most serious local women's newspapers. A real survivor from the 1970s.

Like most women's projects, it was integrated in the usual sense--mostly white sisters with a few die-hard women of color. That gradually changed as more Women of Color came around & they began demanding more respect. Finally, Third World sisters' complaints about continued racism led them to forming a caucus, taking the steering wheel & demanding that white sisters get themselves together. Overnight, white women fled. According to an account in their pages a few months ago, there is now only one white sister left full-time on Womanews. So years & years of integration has added up to feminist "white flight." And a telling situation where women of color put out a newspaper whose primary beneficiaries and readers are white women, while there is yet no New Afrikan or Latina women's newspaper in NYC. Just like every conference ends with angry words and Third World women's caucuses and complaints of racism.

Some sisters worry that moving to upfront white groups & bringing up racism will be a dangerous mess (that fear should fax something to us FAST), that then the racism will get really ugly. Yup, that's what i'd guess too. But let it all out. The storm is coming to amerikkka anyway. White sisters gotta stand alone for awhile, gotta find out where we really are. No cover-up, no more nice pretend words, no more using Women of Color. It's gotta end so we can tell who's really into sisterhood,



AMAZONS!

OUR AMAZON HERITAGE

Jessica Amanda Salmonson

"I will not resign myself to the lot of women, who bow their heads and become concubines," said Thieu Thi Trinh in the year 248 AD. She said, "I wish to ride the tempest, tame the waves, kill the sharks. I want to drive the enemy away to save our people." By the age of twenty-one Thieu Thi Trinh had led thirty battles and liberated Vietnam, for six months, from Chinese tyranny.

Restless as the moon, in every human epoch the female of our species has soldiered and adventured, to great sorrow, and great reward. An officer in a Minnesota regiment, Mary Dennis at six-foot-one was one of several women who we know fought in the front lines of the American Civil War. Kit Cavanaugh was not the only woman to become a dragoon, fighting with the British Army and taking wounds, at first disguised as a man but later fighting openly as a woman. She survived to a natural death and received a military burial. Many white observers noted with dismay the presence of women braves among various Native American peoples. In 1900 and 1901, Yaa Asontewa, an African chief, led her Ashanti followers into war. Queen Christina of Sweden cut off her hair, wore pants, abdicated the throne, and became a notorious adventurer throughout Europe in the sixteen hundreds. In Thirteenth Century Japan, the warrior aristocracy produced several women samurai. Among these was Tomoe. According to the Kamakura, she was match for "god or devil" and in one long battle, "when all the others had been slain, among the last seven rode Tomoe." The histories of every nation, culture and society reveal, however reluctantly, countless amazon figures. The difficulty in writing this introduction has not been in finding historic as opposed to mythic amazons, but in choosing so few representatives among so many.

I would like to take the reader on a brief world tour of our amazon heritage:

In the Sixteenth Century, Francisco de Orellana explored South America. He reported being set upon by a women's army on the Marañon River, later called the River Amazon. Although amazons were never again described from the Amazon River Basin, tribal legends recount uniformly, an earlier era of women's domination. The modern anthropologists Yolanda and Robert Murphy found that even today Brazilian tribal women live apart from men "in convivial sisterhood." Their authority exceeds that of men in all practical matters.

A veritable Robin Hood of Latin America was Doña Catalina de Erauso. At a young age she ran off from a Spanish convent, asking bitterly of her family, "Why have you made me manly and strong like my brothers, only to compel me, now that I am fifteen, to do nothing but mumble a lot of interminable prayers?" Earning her way to Central America in the early sixteen hundreds, she became a soldier of fortune of great swordskill and reknown throughout Mexico, Peru and Chile. When she returned briefly to Europe, clad as a cavalier ("filling the hearts of girls with love, of their gallants with terror," by one account) Pope Urban VIII granted her special permission to wear men's garb and King Philip awarded her a pension for defending the Spanish territory and flag. She remains today an important folk hero of the Latino romantic age.

Sir Walter Raleigh described amazons of Guiana, who met with men only on the ritualistic occasion of fertility celebration. Sons born among the amazons were sent to the men's tribes for rearing. At all other times the sexes kept to their own society. Better documented are the amazon forces of Dahomey in West Africa, described by Sir Richard Burton and others with the vilest terminology, revealing their personal dismay more than the specific nature of the soldiery. The commonly upheld French-devised explanation for this aspect of African culture (and one justification for conquest) was that these women served a brutal king who forced them into warfare. However, many African tribes had separate women's governments which whites rarely knew about. Being matrilinear, even kings legitimized their rule through women's lineage. Male chiefs were responsible to the queen mother of the women's "secret societies" with little or no direct influence over women or their armies.

A specific African amazon was Madame Yoko: diplomat, organizer, agriculturalist, warrior—and ruler of fourteen tribes constituting the Kpa Mende Confederacy of the eighteen hundreds, largest chiefdom of Sierre Leone. Far from being an historic anomaly, she is fairly representative. In her day fully fifteen percent of all tribes around Sierre Leone were ruled by women. To this day, despite the imposition of white values, nine percent of the tribes have women chiefs. Although their histories have been obscured, deleted or mangled by the white man's pen and interpretation, many

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INTEGRATION

what the damage looks like, and
figure out based on reality
where we're moving to. Ending
this patriarchal soap opera of
integration is a growing up
rite for us. Only then can we
explore how women in different
nations can be united. Explore
what it means in practice & how
to relate as equals.

"I seen the clouds form
in the bluest sky,
And I've seen those white
clouds come to mystify.
It seems that beauty lives
inside of change.
So I say to you today
why not end this game
we play
& learn a way to say
good-bye."

little esther

of the greatest warchiefs of Africa, as well as the peacemakers, were women.

The Trung sisters, with thirty-six women generals, led eighty thousand troops against the Chinese in 40 AD, freeing Vietnam for the first time in a thousand years. Women warriors of today are said to be descendants of the Trungs. Of the major insurrections against China to follow half were led by women. Were the amount of information currently available regarding Vietnam provided as well for other nations of the Orient, we might expect similar revelations to surface.

White invaders cast a jaundiced eye upon the great number of women warriors among the Native American Indians. One of the few approving accounts comes to us from Edwin T. Denig who in 1855 wrote the biography of a woman chief among the Crows: "Long before she ventured on the warpath she could rival any of the young men in all their amusments and occupations, was a capital shot with the rifle, and would spend most of her time in killing deer and bighorn, which she butchered and carried home on her back when hunting on foot." In a battle confrontation, "Several Blackfeet came to meet her, rejoicing in the occasion of securing an easy prize. When within pistol shot, she called on them to stop, but they paid no attention. One of the enemies fired at her and the rest charged. She immediately shot down one with her gun, and shot arrows into two more without receiving a wound. The remaining two then rode back to the main body, who came at full speed to murder the woman. They fired showers of balls and pursued her as near to the fort as they could. But she escaped unharmed and entered the gates amid the shouts and praises of the whites and her own people." When councils were held, this woman ranked third in the band of 160 lodges. She had a long career of hunting and warring until, by treachery alone, her traditional enemy the Blackfeet murdered her during her attempt to secure peace between Blackfoot and Crow.

Native American attitudes soon bent to the pressures of the narrow and rigid white conquerors. What was a commonplace account for early Spanish, French and English expiorers became less ordinary in the classical "old west" era. All the same, the sex-role-rigid whites were not devoid of amazons of their own:

Muleskinner, stage driver, range rider, gambler, sharpshooter, midwife, railroad woman—the life of Calamity Jane was not as unusual for a woman as some would prefer to think. Partly because she shared her fame with an equally extraordinary man (Wild Bill Hickok) and partly because, unlike others of her breed, she was literate and could write part of her own story, we have more knowledge of Martha Jane Cannary Hickok than of most Old West amazons.

A gentle healer and samaritan on the one hand, who cured the sick and "couldn't eat a mouthful if I saw some poor little brat hungry," Calamity would yet shoot off the hat of any man who couldn't watch his manners. In 1880 she wrote in a diary for her daughter, Jane junior, of an adventure with Wild Bill: "Everyone blamed the Indians but they were white men who did the killing and murdering and robbed the boys of gold dust. Your father dared me to drive the stage that trip after the killing. I did and found it was myself in one hell of a fix, Janey. The outlaws were back of me. It was getting dark and I knew something had to be done, so I jumped off the driver's seat on the nearest horse then on my saddle horse which was tied to the side and joined up in the dark with the outlaws. Your father was bringing up the rear but I couldn't see it in the darkness but after they got the coach stopped and found no passengers but heaps of gold they got careless. Your father and I got the whole bunch. There were eight of them and of course they had to be shot for they wouldn't give up."

All of these extraordinary women may provide a tantalizing glimpse of the potential roles and positions of women in lost or forgotten ages. On every inhabitable continent and isle, myths of a totally matriarchal heritage as well as of legendary amazons are pervasive. A major example: the ancient verse *Aethiopis* tells how the amazon queen Penthesilia temporarily liberated Troy. The aid of Penthesilia's amazon nation may well have been elicited by Hecuba, Queen of Troy, whom contrary to homeric and euripedian retellings long after the historic defeat, was the powerful ruler of Troy. Achilles' retaking of the city marked the demise of the last stronghold of goddess monotheism which had been extant among the Mediterranean nations since Mesopotamian settlement. It may also have marked the downfall of the last great societies which women governed and defended.

From a scholarly basis, we can show only that the jural and social systems of many early peoples were matrifocal, matrilocal and matrilinear and that the position and power of women under these societies was greater than it is today. Evidence from studies of present-day aboriginal peoples reveals that, before white intervention, Melville Island Tiwis, the Australian Pitjandjara, certain Eskimo peoples, the G/wi and !Kung of Kalahari, Congo pygmies, and the peaceful people of the Philippine rain forests have been egalitarian, or sometimes at least partially woman-dominant. This contradicts the previous and discreditable theories of women's inherent, biologically linked inferior social status and physical ability. It is tempting to extrapolate from these modern anthropological and available archeological evidences, an age of sophisticated worldwide matriarchal civilization. Indeed the hypothesis cannot be credibly challenged except by reasoning which, unless selectively applied, refutes all other prevailing theories as well.

The mythological evidence is vast and helpful, but it is dangerous to interpret "myth" as "history" (just as it is dangerous to interpret "history" as "fact"—we can scarcely be-



Cubans Begin Withdrawal From Angola

Sgt. Vivian Hernández Caballero, right, with other members of the Cuban women's antiaircraft battery in Luanda. After a year spent guarding the skies of southern Angola, they are heading home tomorrow, part of the first detachment of 450 Cuban soldiers to be withdrawn from Angola.

lieve the daily press on current events in the memory of us all, much less the biased chronicles of times which bear no witness). It must be allowed that mythology reflects a common experience handed down from antiquity, revised with every century or civilization, combining that antique experience with contemporary rationales and justifications for successive generations' realities. We can only speculate what the common experience may have been, which produced the universal myth of women's previous rule—and in the fantasy story especially this speculation can be imaginative and entertaining, as well as, very possibly, as close to truth as any scientific hypothesis. We can at least dismiss all detractors who continue, sometimes hysterically, to reason that women were never mighty. Amazons have lived and fought from the Neolithic to the streets of Chicago, Belfast, and Peking.

Historic and prehistoric anthropology and social archeology are one part fact to nine parts imagination. Our "knowledge" of entire civilizations is often extrapolated from a single spare clue via circuitous routes of highly subjective assumptions. If the resultant conclusions sit well with all preconceived notions (usually ethno- and androcentric), they are incorporated into the traditional texts as true, irrespective of the nine parts fantasy. If the results are shocking and sit uneasily with traditional views, lay persons and academicians alike will hasten to discredit the one part fact by indicating the nine part invention. Such has been the case with those who provide evidence of women's power and rule in earlier (and sometimes recent) periods. What we may say, however, with total assurance is this: given the variegation in prehistoric and early societies as dictated by ecological considerations, a *diversity* of social and cultural institutions is absolutely certain. This includes, of course, women's domination and/or equal status, or any combination intellectually conceivable.

In this vein and of special note are a Eurasian people, possibly the first to war astride horses, known to us as Sarmations. The women of this race gained a reputation for strength and education, and are the earliest proven source of amazon legends. The most plausible etymology of the word "amazon" is that it is derived from the Circassion expression "maza" or "moon." There is every likelihood that a cult of women who practiced warfare, equestrianism, and moon worship separated from the bulk of Sarmation society to live on the eastern and southern shores of the Black Sea and the Caucasus. The Scythians, traditional enemies of the Sarmations, called these women "Oiorpata" or "mankillers." The best evidence suggests an area of specific amazon dominion to be a port in northern Anatolia, now in the investigatory hands of archeologists.

But it would be misleading to give this cult society credit for the entire amazon archetype, for legends suggest an amazon "race" of far earlier origin. The moon cultists themselves likely had a heritage reaching into their own antiquity, epochs of which we know nothing. There are indications of uniform gynecocratic rule up to and beyond the first millennium BC, in Syra, Crete, Greece, Lybia, Asia Minor and Thrace. The image and reality of the amazon has been with us since time immemorial, and specific women heroes appear in every unrevised epic. Boudicca led a rebellion in the year 60 against Romans occupying England. Jeanne d'Arc, though wielding banner in lieu of sword, led French soldiers against the English, and drew the battle plans. Aethelflaed resisted Danish invaders from 910 to 915, restoring Wales' crumbled defenses. Harriet Tubman operated an "underground railroad" to remove her enslaved people from Confederate America, and served as a soldier in the northern Union Army. Many of Russia's combatants in the Second World War were women, including Major Tamara Aleksandrovna who commanded an airborn regiment on more than 4,000 sorties and 125 combats. "One-Eye" Hawkins, a patch on one eye, escaped to New Providence after being sold as a bond servant by her husband. She became a pirate in the days of Blackbeard, Captain Kidd, Mary Reed, Anne Bonney, and similar folk heroes. Major-General Li Chen was a leader in Mao Tse Tung's campaigns. She stayed with the 6,000 mile Long Walk. She engaged in battle even during pregnancy.

This essay is reprinted from Amazons!, an anthology of fantasy short stories on women warriors in every clime & planet. Edited by martial-artist Jessica Amanda Salmonson. Amazons! was a DAW 1977 paperback & has long been unavailable to us mere bottomfish. Definitely pick this book up if you can find it. We left out the last page of the essay, dealing with fantasy as a literary field, for reasons of space. "Our Amazon Heritage" packs much truth about our past in its few pages.

Not all amazons were warlike, of course; some were merely adventurous. Imbibing mystic learning in many oriental countries, Alexandria David-Neel, a Knight in the French Legion of Honor, was the first European woman to visit the far, forbidden city of Lhasa in Tibet. Hungarian Florence Baker returned to civilization after presumed lost, to report the discovery of the once mythic "Source of the Nile." The list is simply endless. The amazon archetype is, then, both ancient and modern, psychological and real—born of an uninterrupted history of fighting women and adventurers. The majority of their names have been lost to antiquity, or in recent instances, to the tendency of modern chroniclers to overlook or trivialize the continuing warrior-strength of women.

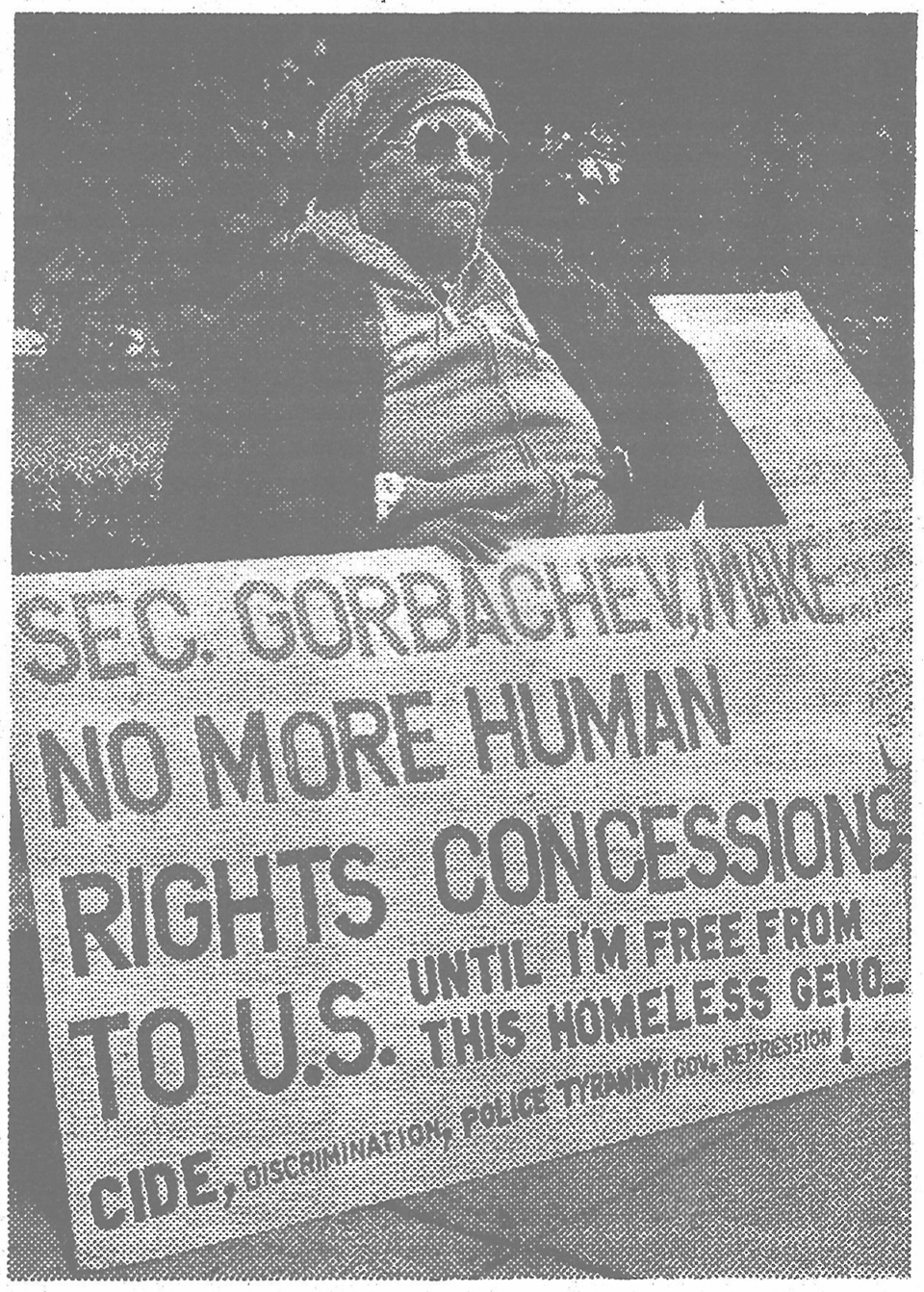
Men-only curfew urged to halt rapes, assaults

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — A peace group called today for a curfew to keep men off streets from dusk to dawn to prevent rapes and assaults on women.

The proposal in Hamilton, 95 miles south of here, was a response to police warnings that women should stay indoors after dark following several vicious rapes in the Auckland area.

Maria McMillian of Hamilton said telling women to stay behind locked doors was not a good way of dealing with rape. "What is happening is that women would be punished for the crimes of men," she said. "We see a curfew as a viable alternative to this."

She said men might be allowed out at night if accompanied by women. Hamilton women will hold a "Reclaim the Night" march Friday to press their demand for the male curfew.



California native Lillie Smith, now homeless: "Russia is telling the truth about social justice in America."

The Role Of Women & Children In The Armed Struggle

BOTTOMFISH BLUES

Chapter Two :

Which Will You Be—Hammer Or Anvil?

Women and children's war against the armed rule of men is the most taboo thing there is. Yet it is coming. It is so taboo, so threatening, that not only do generals and popes and bankers shrink from it, but even feminists, socialists, anarchists and national liberation movements try to suppress any thought of it. Still, it must come. Women's political violence is thought unnatural, a violation of the most basic sex roles, contrary to the social customs of ages, almost unthinkable. Still, it is something that is necessary, natural and inevitable.

To individual men it will seem uncomprehensible, as though his table, his chair, his t.v., his bed all started attacking him. Because the ownership of white settler women by settler men has gone on so long, this property relationship appears normal to him. While he acknowledges that other nations and colonies will rise up and seize territory and the right to self-determination, will kill him, settler men see their antagonisms with white women as easily handled. A personal thing. Dealt with by a fist or a divorce or getting a replacement part. Because Dick sees other nations and colonies as dangerous groups, but us as a pacified individual "piece." And in the past 300 years so did we.

The beginning of consciousness for us came with the rebellions in the 1960s of New Afrikans, Puerto Ricans & Native Americans. Concepts of genocide and self-determination kicked a hole in the wall that surrounded us. Because we lived so deep in amerikkka we hardly noticed national struggles which took place on other continents. But when rebellion started here we were put on notice that not everybody saw amerikkka as eternal verity--that nations existed before the white man came here and that new nations could be built.

The problems of the white women's movement have much to do with women's unwillingness to admit the centrality of genocide for women's politics.

Even the concept of genocide against women is missing from our minds. We need to keep coming back to this point because we've been conditioned to never figure it out, to keep forgetting about it, to accept the barren aftermath of genocide as what is normal. Look at how women reviewers of Margaret Atwood's novel The Handmaid's Tale spoke respectfully on it as a fictional warning, about how genocide might befall women in some perverted future if today's rightwing trends continued. But isn't the point that in real life it already happened long ago? It's history, Jane, just history.

What i'm saying is that white women now are only a pale shadow of what free women used to be.

And because we haven't broken our bonds to the patriarchy, we still don't know how our world works. Most importantly, we don't yet know how to start an opposing culture of our own. The imperialist patriarchy understands genocide in a scientific way, 'tho they won't cop to it. They have a map & an owners manual, and have had long experience at operating it. We need an opposing camp of theoretical & practical clarity, which is why key concepts such as "genocide," "property," and "integration" have to be dealt with in a scientific way. We're going to talk about all this.

Genocide is above all else a property relationship. The propaganda that it's an "insane" aberration, a frenzy of racist killing, is untrue. Genocide is a cold deal. It's what's normal in our world. The U.N. has defined genocide as the destruction of a nation or people, either physically or by destruction of their culture. Often the victims survive because their body is needed. But they survive as something else.

Indian women who survived "King Philip's Rebellion," the first major white settler vs. Indian war in 1675, were mostly sold into slavery to the Jamaican sugar plantations. They didn't live long although their descendants still survive. But not as Indians in what our gestapo called "New England." As Afrikans in Jamaica. Biological survival of individuals is not the same as the survival of a people, who are a people because they have an identity, a collective personality & culture.

Biologically and socially, those Indian sisters were integrated by capitalism into the West Indian slave economy. Their lineage goes on but not as those specific Indian nations. Isn't that what happened to women as a people? Integrated into the male economy, the male home, the male structures. For property ownership gives the right to split apart & integrate, to reshape & restructure, to use up, disperse & destroy. This is what war is about.



"I've seen the sun set
on the mountainside.
Does that mean that I should mourn
the day gone by?...
So I say to you today
why not end the game we play?
& learn a way to say good-bye."

little esther

It's only natural that patriarchal imperialism creates the need in us for an opposing culture, whether you think of that as women's culture or revolutionary culture. But our attempts at a culture of our own sputter, flare and never really catch fire, because the minimum standard for a new culture today is that it has to confront the centrality of genocide. Otherwise it's not for real, not going to cut it.

Revolutionary women's culture is usually thought of as uplifting & entertaining, having to do with the creative arts (music, painting, drama, dance, literature, sculpture). Kinda our counter-part to the patriarchal capitalist arts. <u>They</u> have Michael Jackson and the Metropolitan Opera, <u>we</u> have Holly Near and Sweet Honey in the Rock. <u>They</u> got poems by T.S.Eliot, <u>we</u> got poems by Adrienne Rich & Pat Parker. This is misleading.

When i speak here of culture i mean the distinctive characteristic of a stage of civilization or the distinctive way of life of a given society. In that sense, Michael Jackson & Holly Near are <u>both</u> parts of patriarchal imperialist culture. Revolutionary culture isn't something you go to visit (such as a concert) or buy (such as a book). It's much larger than that --which is why no matter how hard you shop or how many concerts you go to you can't get it. It's something you gotta create by living in it--or not. Revolutionary culture is a way of life that counteracts genocide civilization, a different way of seeing & answering problems, a set of productive & reproductive relationships between people. It's what some call communalism and others call women's liberation. Many haven't found a name for it, it's just a dumb vision in their pain.

While listening to Holly Near may look like women's culture, when it's divorced from the real relationships of Land & property & production, it becomes its opposite. Just as Michael Jackson came outta an oppressed culture but is regarded by everyone as a talented entertainer in & for white oppressor culture. This isn't to criticize either entertainer. A Holly Near might sing of Chilean women who produce the fruit we eat, but if that isn't part of an opposing culture that says produce it ourselves or do without, then it's really an acceptance of genocide culture.

An outward show of a separate culture can be & is absorbed into genocide culture, a product that we can buy which makes us feel better about ourselves ("I care about other women, about oppressed people. I'm entertained by their struggles.") although we aren't better people.

We can see this pretty clear when it happens to other people, to Indian cultures, say. We don't think that the tour bus pulling up at "AUTHENTIC INDIAN POW-WOW $3.00 ADMISSION" constitutes Indian culture. We don't think that robbing indigenous nations of their Land and productive life but having them make rugs & belt buckles for us is building their culture.

When it comes to us we got blinders on, however. We don't see it'll happen to us, too, without armed struggle, without territory & production. We think women's culture is somehow exempt from all this, but it isn't. We could end up with Adrienne Rich Blvd. and Andrea Dworkin Highway, too, just as this racist society has Sojourner Truth Elementary School and Malcolm X Blvd. Leaving us with nothing. It's only in going for all of it that you get to keep any of it.

In the substratum beneath all of world history lies a conflict between two parent civilizations. One represents in unbroken continuity many centuries of domination. It is in its nature patriarchal, class-ridden and property-driven, an oppressors and conquerors civilization. In its latest & greatest manifestation we know this civilization as patriarchal imperialism.

The other is a shadow civilization. As old as the oppressor civilization is, having evolved over many centuries thru different forms of class society, the shadow civilization is older still. It is the primal society, the first culture of humankind. In opposition to the oppressor civilization it is women-centered, communal, non-owning. Broken by the rise of class-ridden society, the shadow civilization lives on as a fugitive among the oppressed. It represents our own past & our own future, however fragmentary, blurred-over and unconscious it is.

The conflict between the oppressor culture and revolutionary women's culture can also be seen as two different ways to answer problems, for what marks a culture is its own way of finding answers. This is the intersection where a culture makes itself evident in the rhythms of daily life; of producing food & clothing, providing shelter from the elements, shaping how we solve our myriad life problems. A culture is both a problem-solving tool & a survival guide for a people. Or it is left behind.

SETTLER WOMEN & "OTHER"

i want to talk about white women in amerikkka both because that is what i am and because european women have a different herstory than ours. Although we often wish to pretend that we are the same. That is when we are not busy pretending that women of indigenous nations & Latinas & New Afrikan women are just us with different colored skin. All just sisters, right or wrong?

We have a certain story that we tell, which we say is the story of how <u>all</u> women were enslaved & how patriarchal domination arose. In the past twenty years hundreds & perhaps thousands of like-minded articles & books have been written by white women outlining the fall of womankind, which our white amerikkkan

Fifty thousand women march down Fifth Avenue, August 26, 1970 in celebration of the 50th anniversary of suffrage—the largest women's demonstration up to that time.



women's studies departments say took place 3,000 to 5,000 years ago. It was so long ago that we can't remember it & no one we know is responsible for it. This is a typical example, as written way back in 1971 by Charlotte Bunch and Rita Mae Brown:

"The first division of labor, in pre-history, was based on sex: men hunted, women built the villages, took care of children, and farmed... men conquered women with the weapons that they developed for hunting...Although there have been numerous battles over class, race and nation during the past 3,000 years, none of them has brought the liberation of women."

This story, while it has truths within it, is as a whole untrue. It slides into a pre-conceived world view that amerikkka has put into our heads. It's very understandable that in the early days of the women's movement this stick figure sketch of how women were enslaved was a radical beginning, because it helped us see how patriarchy was born in systematic violence against women. But now, twenty years later, we should have developed a more scientific picture.

We haven't because amerikkkan women still believe that men's ownership of women is something near eternal, begun before history even, something associated with dark and primitive societies, and that only in our lifetimes are educated women in "developed" (i.e.white) countries beginning to get equality. And don't we believe that amerikkkan white women are the most independent, the most feminist of all? White men say that to us all the time, so we think it must be true. But it's us who are backward, who are dependent.

i see it as a measurement of how wiped blank we are by genocide that we can recite racist anti-woman lies that Dick has taught us--and think it's our feminist theory.

In the first chapter we discussed how the long rise of euro-capitalism, beginning in the 13th century, led masses of european women to fight back by re-grouping themselves into the Beguines, a communal working women's culture with women's houses, women's neighborhoods, and women's fortified towns. This community sheltered a radical women's conspiracy against the ruling classes. The rising euro-capitalism only gained its unique powers by genocide against women, by the institutionalized killings and terror and looting of women in the centuries-long Witchhunt.

And, when armed with this power, euro-capitalism expanded to invade other continents, it encountered many societies in which women had always had real power & real equality. We used one example of Igbo women in Nigeria, where within a society with patriarchal trends those Afrikan women still had their own separate women's economy & women's self-government (parallel to that of men), whose rules were enforced by what in our terms would be a women's militia. Enforced on men as well as women.

It was to resist the British colonial taxation on their women's economy that tens of thousands of Igbo women began the 1926 Women's War, burning down colonial offices and freeing Afrikan prisoners from jails. Their defeat by British imperialist troops meant the destruction of their Afrikan women's economy & self-government. That was in 1926, not 3,000 years ago. But we didn't notice them.

We are so unlike those free women that we can't recognize them. They are less real to us than dolphins and redwoods. Nor are we the european women who waged their own communal conspiracy against capitalism for generations, and were only defeated by the Witchhunt after millions of deaths. amerikkkan feminists wanna believe we are those women, but we aren't.


Idyllic Goddess Theory Creates a Storm

Continued From Page C1

Dr. Gimbutas argues that between 7000 B.C. and 3500 B.C. the people of Europe lived in sedentary agricultural societies that worshiped the Great Goddess, delighted in nature, shunned war, built comfortable settlements rather than forts and crafted superb ceramics rather than weapons. The social system was matrilineal. Women headed clans or served as queen-priestesses. Men labored as hunters and builders. But neither men nor women dominated the other sex.

Death was not absent from this

... should make their own criticism more widely known. In the end, they say, Dr. Gimbutas's work raises sensitive questions not only about prehistoric civilization but also about the relations between speculation and scholarship and between scholarship and social movements.

The equation of a fish with the womb of the goddess, seen as a sign of her life-giving powers, is depicted on this egg-shaped amphora (700-675 B.C.), from a tomb in eastern Greece. Animals and birds surrounding the goddess are interpreted as signs of regeneration.

the beliefs of isolated tribes or communities, they found vestiges of an earlier matriarchal stage of human civilization centered on worship of a mother goddess.

Dr. Gimbutas tempers her forerunners' notion of strict matriarchy, but her similarities to these predecessors divides her from many colleagues.

Anthropologists are now uncomfortable with what, a century ago, were popular schemes of civilization passing from one well-defined stage to another. Archaeologists reject Dr. Gimbutas's reliance on the folklore and mythology of historical times to interpret objects from many millenia earlier.

But what others see as Dr. Gimbutas's weaknesses, she sees as weaknesses of her discipline. Archeologists are not interested in religion, she said, and they lack the knowledge and language skills to use comparative mythology and folklore to interpret their findings.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Did Goddess Worship Mark Ancient Age of Peace?

Scholar Traces Modern Conquests to Disappearance of Female-Centered European Culture

By Jay Mathews

Washington Post Staff Writer

For one, those women's communities were anti-capitalist. That is, they had communal worker economies and in both cases their political struggles were against the inasive euro-capitalism. To stay separate from it. But during most of the herstory of our white women's movement, it's been accepted as fact that patriarchal imperialism is something we have to "live with," accomodate to. We've spent much of our energies getting into it. It's so good for white men that most white women always think if we can just smooth out the rough edges it'll be great for us, too. So free women were fighting to get out while we're fighting to co-exist within it. Not the same at all.

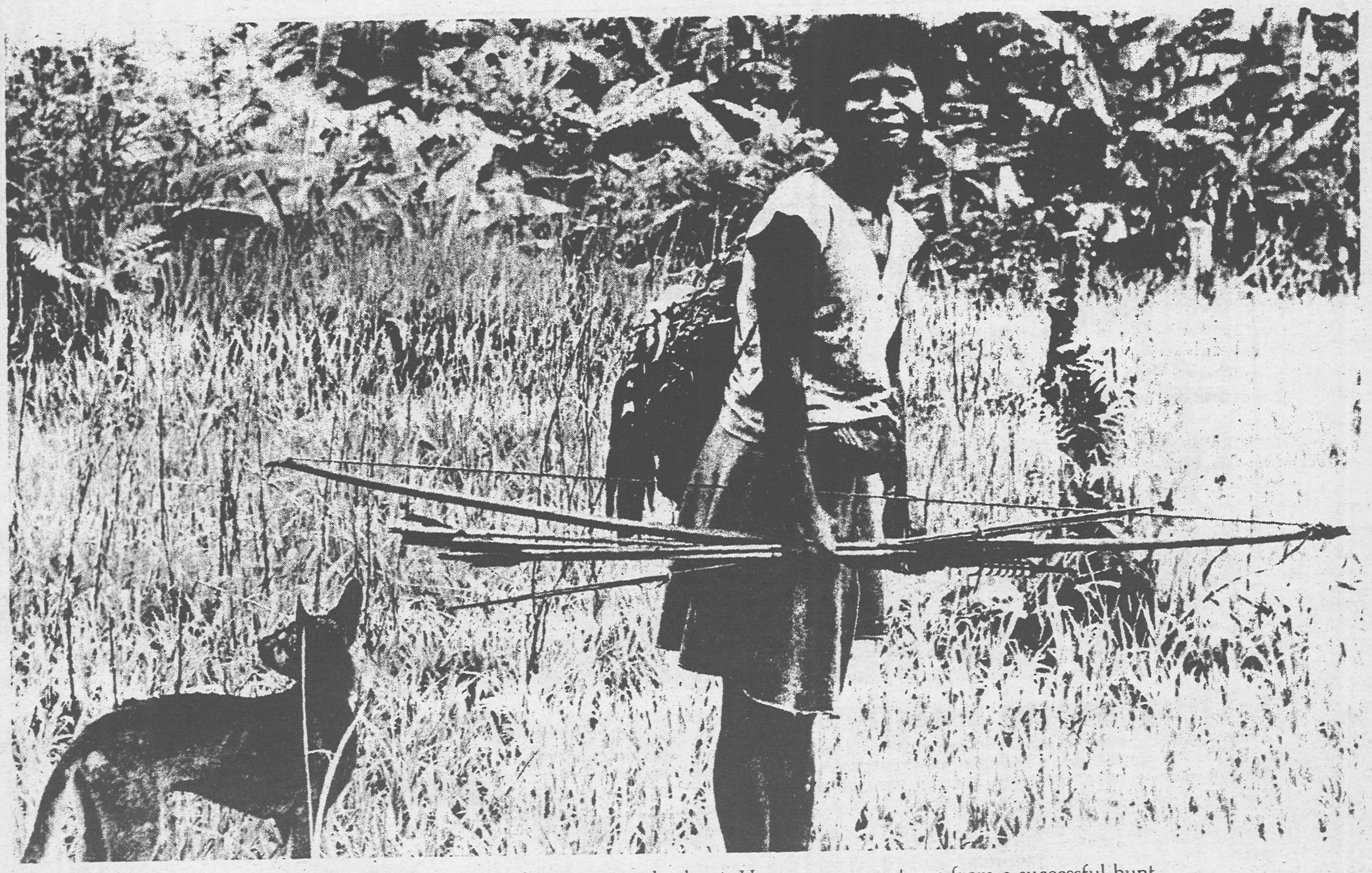
The other thing is genocide. Those free women were fighting genocide, while white women in amerikkka are the sterilized result of genocide. We must describe genocide as a culture precisely because it is an accepted way of life to us. Which is why white women don't want to see that the first genocide is against women. It cuts too close to home.

We're still afraid to see that we are not what women were, that we are stripped of being women. In communal non-class societies women were a people, strong physically & strong ethically & strong as community. We made human community, and controlled reproduction as our science. Women as a people were self-reliant. What we needed we did for self, whether it was weaving textiles or developing agriculture or teaching our young. Production and reproduction and other sciences were shared by women's community.

There are millions of us but we don't have a housing program or a transportation system or a foreign policy. Wars go on all around us & over us but we have no army & no defense plan. We're not on any map & no one has to take account of us because we're not even in the ballpark. One white woman today may be a karate blackbelt or a cop, but that doesn't mean she can defend herself from a surprise attack or a gang attack, or that a hundred other women on the next block are any safer. That's proven fact. It's not the same as a community of women that didn't permit any strange or unapproved men to live around them & expelled men by force if necessary. Yet we are taught to never have communal women's solutions to our problems. Just individual white solutions.

Genocide doesn't always mean total physical elimination of a nation or people, when the oppressor needs your body live. Euro-capitalism in the Witchhunt burned millions of women, remember, to destroy women as a people, with our own communalism and culture. The terrorized survivors were needed as property, for our labor & our reproduction. But we weren't permitted to gather together or live together in any numbers. We were split up and parcelled out to men while the patriarchal State appointed itself our guardians & the regulators of our bodies.

Then we became settler women in amerikkka, Dick's junior assistants at



Agta are one of the few societies where women also hunt. Here a woman returns from a successful hunt.

invading & doing genocide to others. But we can't see it yet, because if we saw how genocide worked on us then we'd also have to see how we've been reduced to helping do that same genocide to New Afrikan women, to Puerto Rican women, to women of indigenous nations. We're much less than women were yet we trivialize & deny our own genocide.

Certainly we trivialize & deny "other" women's genocide, since our white privileges are 100% dependent on us doing that. When Dick usta tell us he wanted us to be "wives", to stay home in his pen & serve him & have no independent income or life, we protested. That was marginalization & worse, being totally dependent on him & available to him. But we willingly attempt to force New Afrikan women to be marginalized & available to white men. Sure, when he does it to us we rightfully call it oppression, but when we help him do it to New Afrikan sisters we call it a "career." Isn't that what welfare is, what being a client or a case is, being available to white men and the imperialist patriarchy? Just like marriage is to us.

Isn't the mass welfare program for New Afrikan & Latin women part of a system whereby most of these sisters are from birth denied independence? And their nation is kept increasingly outside the economy historically built on their forced labor. Instead, to prevent uprisings during the dying, white men substitute the dishonestly named welfare. Which means these New Afrikan sisters are marginalized, hidden, available--subject to reviews & inspections & arbitrary commands & loss of their children. Dick has more profitable things to do with his own time, so traditionally he has left white settler women to operate his marginalization system for New Afrikan women. Just as he calls it "defense" when he invades Panama & "welfare" when he tries to dehumanize Black & Latin women, when we assist him in his crimes he lets us call it "social work" or a "career."

We persist in trivializing "other" women's genocide in part because we still deny our own. We think of the housing projects that so many sisters are confined to as "housing", when really they're more akin to reservations or koncentration kamps. You don't really think they built projects cause Black people needed housing, do you? Actually, that is what we wanna think even though it's a silly thought. They built projects because they wanted social prisons for Black women like they have criminal prisons for Black men.

We force them to live there or be homeless, then we flood the projects with dope & alcohol & guns (none of which New Afrikan men produce but all of which are mysteriously freely available to them in any quantity no matter how poor they are) while our police threaten and disarm the women.

Remember the Central Park Jogger gang rape last year, when angry white women wanted to know why police hadn't dealt with "those brutal teen-age rapists" earlier? Then it turned out in interviews with women in the projects that these same accused guys had long been harassing, threatening & physically attacking Latin & New Afrikan sisters, but the police protected them. Even to the point of warning project tenants that anyone who tried to stop them would be arrested.

Once that got out white sisters shut down, looked the other way. Sure, political white women care that

Woman allegedly fires at accused in W.Va. trial

HAMLIN, W.Va. (AP) — The mother of a murder victim allegedly pulled a gun from her purse in a packed courtroom yesterday and fired at her daughter's accused killer from the witness stand.

Pearl Marie Abraham allegedly fired a single shot from a .38-caliber pistol at Stuart Martin Elliott during the third day of his murder trial in Lincoln County Circuit Court. She was charged with attempted murder.

Mr. Elliott, 25, of Hamlin, is charged with killing Mrs. Abraham's daughter and raping her 10-year-old granddaughter in September.

Witnesses said prosecutor Jay Hoke had just finished questioning Mrs. Abraham when she pulled the gun from her handbag. The bullet hit the defense table and ricocheted into a door, missing everyone in the standing-room-only courtroom.

Mrs. Abraham of West Hamlin was subdued by a bailiff, and the chaotic courtroom was cleared.

Mr. Elliott suffered a twisted knee in the melee. He was treated at Boone Memorial Hospital in Madison and was returned to jail.

Lincoln County Magistrate Helen McCormick released Mrs. Abraham after she posted $25,000 bond. She was whisked away by family members through a rear door without commenting to reporters.

Mr. Elliott is accused of murder, sexual assault, two counts of attempted murder and attempted arson in the death of Annette Abraham and the attack on the girl.



Associated Press

They mean business

With four women's prisons on line and a fifth near completion, Florida organized this all-female "confrontation squad" to deal with disturbances. Females account for 10 percent of the prison population in Florida—a statistic that has doubled in the last three years, officials said. The squad is shown during drills at River Junction Correctional Center at Chattahoochee.

this is going on. Some care intensely. But we can't afford to really see it. We've so constricted our own lives & thoughts as the tide of violence against us grows, as we try to at least stay personally independent from Dick, that we can't see how the system acts against "other" women. Have you heard any discussion in the women's community lately about how our police promote the rape & terrorizing of New Afrikan women & Latinas to keep them captive? No, for us that cuts too close to home.

Like the patriarchy has given us the wink and the nod, so we know we got Dick's permission to go after penthouses & hustlers. We're "anti-porn" 'cause we're too terrorized ourselves to be anti-rape, anti-cop. Just think, 'tho, isn't it true when we were first enslaved that men didn't have no playboy, only the bible, the talmud & the koran? Millions more women have died 'cause of the bible than hustler. But we're justly too scared to cross Dick, to get him mad at us. As long as we deny our own genocide, we will still trivialize ourselves & "other" women.

The failure of amerikkkan women to extract ourselves from patriarchy, from economic collaboration, from parasitism, from physical submission to the rule of men has led to the hostility and derision the masses of Third World women feel toward us & our movements. New Afrikan and Puerto Rican women conduct continuous guerrilla warfare as they come up against us in their daily lives. Whether we appear as case workers, teachers, cops, or university professors, they do not fail to see that we are the comb that divides the strands of who shall live and who shall die.

They are under no delusion that we are an independent community of women that can relate to their nations and peoples in revolutionary struggle. They hide their lives from us because they know that ultimately we will betray them to Dick.

We are weaker in the face of our male oppressor than they are in dealings with men of their nations. Even tho we believe the opposite. Genocide against the New Afrikan nation has been held at bay by their strength. Else why do our boys flood their neighborhoods with armies of cops & gangs & drug dealers? They are as yet undefeated. Function much more as communities of women. Don't doubt it.

Quick pictures: i remember a New Afrikan woman on my block threatening to throw her caseworker head first down the stairs if that white woman didn't stop messing with her. Next day all the "welfare women" threatened the worker. Day after, no more worker.

Eleanor Bumpurs, elderly and alone in her project apartment. They sent an army of cops to do her, a six-pack of SWAT with flak jackets and shotguns and all. 'Cause they were <u>afraid</u> of her. She might <u>hurt</u> them. They didn't doubt it.

Sisters think Miss Ann is one sad case.

And yet & again, we are hurt and baffled when women of oppressed nations who used to be in and around our movements disappear back to their people. We sing a lotta blues about this. It's been seventy years since white women got the vote, twenty years since we built the women's liberation movement, and still no man is afraid of us. We killed no rapists & built no armies, took no territory & have no movement that can even begin. There is not a single street or park we can safely walk.

Meanwhile, our boys are moving night and day to inflict these conditions on women of other nations. Those sisters have to go home to fight because we will not fight.

There will be no international women's movement that includes us until we have achieved the status of free women. That is, that we can create armed struggle, a community, a nation, an ability to deal with genocide.

Articles from this newspaper may be reprinted in whole or in part by any women's publication, as long as it is credited to *Bottomfish Blues: A Voice for the Amazon Nation*. Other groups or publications may request permission to reprint through a classified ad in a women's publication, such as *off our backs*, *Womanews*, *Hag Rag* or *Sojourner*.

The Role Of Women & Children In The Armed Struggle

BOTTOMFISH BLUES

Chapter Three : Science of Genocide

Nothing stands still, and our lack of breakthrough has meant political regression. There is danger that even the most radical feminist & lesbian thought will be erased over the next generation. This is scarcely an original concern. Many radical women's voices have long since sounded an alarm. As Sidney Spinster reminds us in her valuable essay, "The Evolution of Lesbian Separatist Consciousness," a decade ago TRIBAD was observing white lesbians' slippage back to the patriarchy:

"We're not dangerous as individuals. We got scared of the political group and went back to being individuals in the economy.

"Mainstream culture prints liberal writings and calls it radical. The culture doesn't print radical writings (revolutionary political writings).

"Careerism has ruined the movement. What is now visible as Movement is not radical. All the Dykes went home to get a lover and a job."

This danger of regression is not mere speculation. After all, the first white women's movement, the women's suffrage movement that began in 1848 and climaxed in 1920, got completely wiped out. Leaving behind da zip, da nada, nothing. That's why we had to start from ground zero in the 1960s, having nothing & knowing nothing except that we were the first generation. Ever wonder about that?

THE FIRST WHITE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

That movement was like ours in so many ways. It was created out of a time of struggle for the New Afrikan Nation, just as ours was. White women's politics in amerikkka have always revolved around New Afrika, as much as we deny it. From chattel slavery to segregation to integration & to today's genocide. How could it be otherwise here.

White women's suffrage grew out of the Northern anti-slavery movement. The first women's political organizations in the u.s. were the Female Anti-Slavery Societies, which were first started by New Afrikan sisters of Salem, Mass. in 1832 (just as New Afrikan women activists in Mississippi were the first to raise women's liberation in the 1960s).

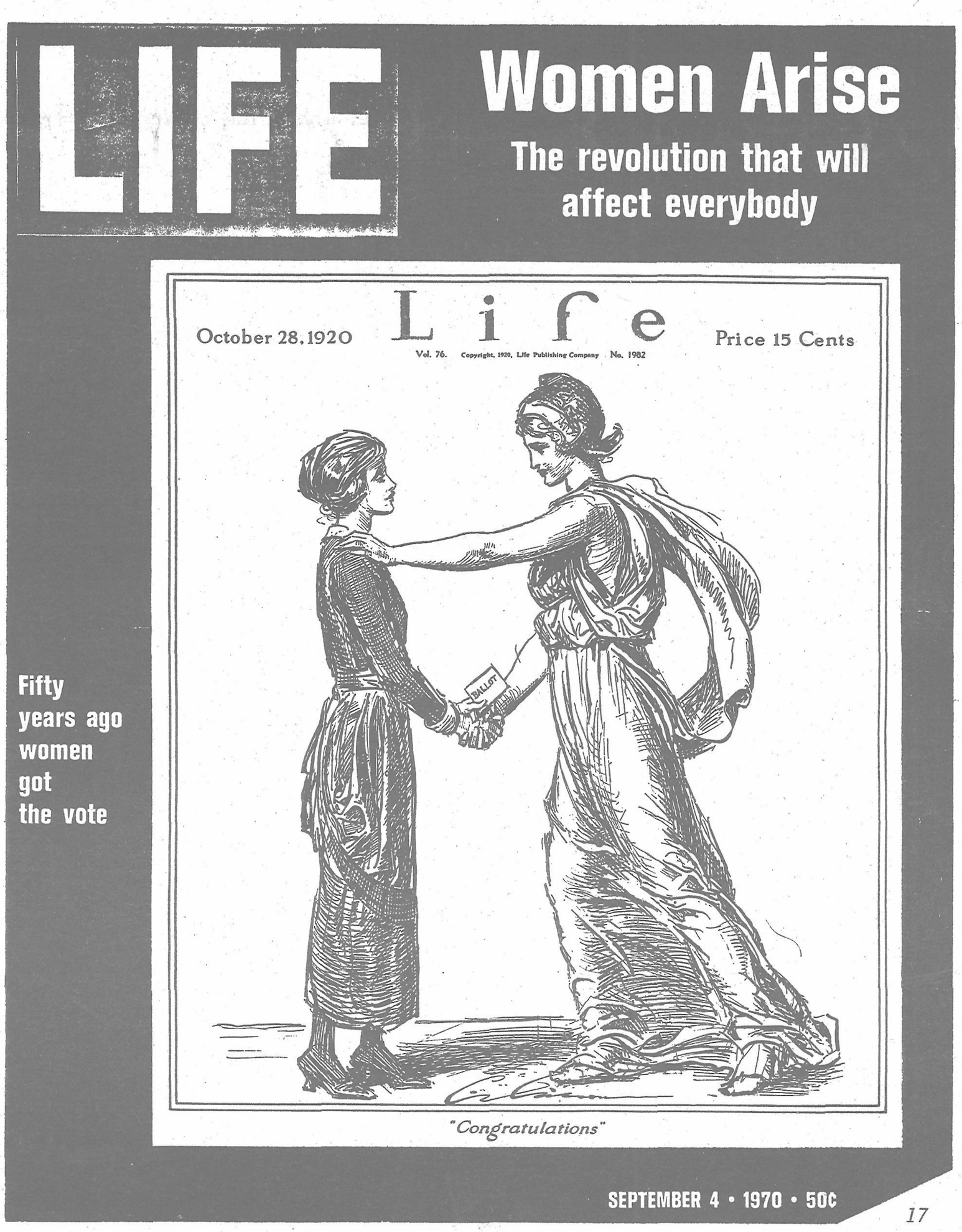
Those local women's groups, of which there were a hundred by the end of the 1830s, were mostly white. Women as public speakers & going door-to-door organizing for a radical cause freaked out white society, which had prohibited its women from speaking on & taking part in political life and any public affairs at all.

The resolve of those women was clear in the resolution passed by the first Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in 1837, attended by over 200 women from ten states, who:

"...no longer remain satisfied in the circumscribed limits with which corrupt custom and a perverted application of scripture have encircled her; therefore it is the duty of woman, and the province of woman, to plead the cause of the oppressed in this land..."

In no time white women's political activity was a greater outrage to the established order than Anti-Slavery itself. Anti-slavery activists were commonly attacked then as now, and in 1838 the second Convent-

(continued on page 19)


LIFE

Women Arise

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Fifty years ago women got the vote

October 28, 1920 Life Price 15 Cents

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BALLOT

"Congratulations"

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5 Years in Jail Awaiting Trial

For Me, 'Preventive Detention' Is Turning Into a Life Sentence

By Laura Whitehorn

Justice Rehnquist: "In our society liberty is the norm and detention without trial is the carefully limited exception . . . ."

Ironically, those words are from a 1987 Supreme Court decision that upheld the constitutionality of preventive detention and thereby guaranteed that the gap between the ideal and the reality of the criminal justice system would widen.

His words have given me little comfort during the nearly five years that I've been held in preventive detention in Baltimore and Washington—with more years likely before I finally go to trial. True, during that period I served 19 months for contempt and for a conviction on related matters. But even if those cases hadn't existed, I would still have been spent the past five years in preventive detention.

I'm still awaiting trial, yet I've already been behind bars far longer than KKK leader Don Black, who served 24 months for stockpiling automatic weapons and explosives for an invasion of the Caribbean nation of Dominica. I've been locked up longer than Michael Donald Bray, who served 46 months for bombing 10 abortion clinics. In fact, I've now served more time in preventive detention than the maximum three years I could have received on the original charge against me.

My case is complex and confusing, and you may not be sympathetic to my political views and activities. But ask yourself: Should I be one of those "carefully limited exceptions"?

The story begins in May 1985, when I was arrested in a Baltimore apartment by an FBI team searching for a group of fugitive revolutionaries. Although I was not a fugitive and had no outstanding charges, I was arrested, handcuffed and hauled down to an FBI car. The initial charge was assault on an FBI agent—that is, resisting being pushed into the car.

The magistrate who arraigned me questioned whether the "assault" really happened but granted the U.S. attorney's request that I be held in preventive detention. In theory, the government has the burden of showing that bail should be denied; in practice, magistrates and judges usually grant such requests and defendants have the new burden of proving why they *should* be granted bail.

Over the next few months, the prosecutor added new charges—possession of two guns and of false identification—and preventive detention was reaffirmed.

Under the Bail Reform Act of 1984, a prosecutor can request preventive detention only if a crime of violence is involved. In my case, the unproven and contrived assault charge served as the required violent act. The prosecutor also must prove that the defendant is either a "threat to the community" or cannot be prevented from fleeing by "any condition or set of conditions." To establish my "dangerousness," the U.S. attorney cited my three prior arrests.

Laura Whitehorn identifies herself as a political prisoner awaiting trial in the Resistance Conspiracy Case.



LAURA WHITEHORN—PHOTO BY JEB (JOAN E. BIREN)

It was true. I had been arrested before. Since the 1960s I've been active in a broad range of human rights and social justice issues. I've picketed, protested, demonstrated and defended myself and others when we've been attacked by the police. In 1969, I was arrested three times in anti-war and anti-racism demonstrations. I was released on bail in each case and appeared for all court dates. I violated none of the conditions of release. I successfully completed two years of unsupervised probation.

Nonetheless, the judge in Baltimore decided I should be held in preventive detention. At a later hearing, the judge articulated his rationale: I should be denied bail in part because I had stated in court that "I live by revolutionary and human principles." That decision has twice been upheld by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Now the story gets confusing:

- On Jan. 15, 1986, I began serving a contempt sentence for refusing to provide a handwriting sample in connection with the charges.
- On Jan. 26, 1986, a mistrial was declared on grounds of illegally seized evidence, but I remained in preventive detention while the government appealed.
- On Feb. 18, 1987, I began serving a two-year sentence on a New York conviction for making a false statement in applying for a passport.
- On July 15, 1987, my imprisonment for contempt ended.
- In February 1988, I completed one year of the New York sentence and was paroled—back into preventive detention.

Three months later, an entirely new element entered the picture—and further delayed the Baltimore trial. On May 11, 1988, I was indicted along with five other political activists here in Washington on charges of conspiracy and bombing the Capitol and other government and military buildings to protest the contra war against Nicaragua and the 1983 invasion of Grenada. (No one was hurt in the bombings.)

My codefendants had been arrested at various times and in various states in 1984 and 1985 on charges similar to the weapons and indentification charges I face in Baltimore. They since have been convicted and are now serving outrageously long sentences because of their politics—12, 35, 58, 58 and 70 years. We still face trial on the bombing and conspiracy charges and are being held in the D.C. Jail.

I had a new bail hearing in D.C. on July 1, 1988 before U.S. District Judge Harold Greene, even while held in preventive detention in Baltimore. I was ordered held in preventive detention here, too—and the Baltimore case was held in abeyance pending the outcome of the D.C. trial.

In April 1989, the D.C. trial judge dismissed the charges against three of my codefendants for double jeopardy, and the government appealed. Since the appeal could take up to a year to be resolved, I again requested bail. This time, Judge Greene ruled that detention for more than a year would violate due process and ordered my release on the same bail conditions that the Baltimore courts had rejected. Again the Baltimore court rejected those conditions.

So now I am in the curious position of being "free" on bail in Washington but held in preventive detention here for the Baltimore court. My Baltimore case probably won't come to trial until I complete my Washington trial, and my Washington trial won't occur until the government's appeals run the course—whenever that is.

Under preventive detention, you start off with two strikes against you. The decision on bail is made within three days of the arrest—a time when the defendant is lucky to find a lawyer, let alone have time to prepare for a hearing. And fighting against preventive detention takes up much time and energy that should be spent on the case itself.

Being in prison before trial means you can't contact, interview and select witnesses. It means making collect phone calls to your attorney or witnesses and having them monitored. You can't review evidence against you or accumulate evidence in your defense. And it's practically impossible to go to the prison law library.

When the Bail Reform Act was passed in 1984, the government projected that preventive detention would apply to only "a small group of detainees." In 1985, the first full year it was in effect in the federal system, and the last year for which I could find Justice Department statistics, preventive detention was imposed in 29 percent of all federal criminal cases—including virtually every felony case involving a left-wing political defendant. From what I've seen, the other groups over-represented in these statistics are African Americans, Hispanics and the poor. Every lawyer I've spoken with believes that that percentage is considerably higher now. If only 10 or 20 percent of those held in preventive detention are acquitted (the Justice Department will not release the actual figure), that means hundreds, if not thousands, of people are being arbitrarily imprisoned and punished.

The prospect that more people who should be "innocent until proven guilty" will serve long pre-trial sentences is frightening enough. But more frightening still is the prospect that our nation, instead of solving its deep social problems and injustices, is bartering its most important liberties for a "law and order" non-solution.

Mother plays detective to help in capture of rapist who pursued her daughter

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich. (AP) — A woman who staked out her 10-year-old daughter's bus stop with a camera after the girl complained of being repeatedly approached by a stranger has been given credit for helping catch an ex-convict who has been charged with assault with intent to commit kidnapping.

David Bruce Siebers, released last year after serving nine years of a 10- to 21-year term on several charges, including rape, was arrested Thursday and arraigned Friday.

The Kent County Sheriff's Department would not release the woman's name yesterday. She talked with the *Grand Rapids Press* Friday on condition of anonymity.

The woman told police her daughter was approached three times by a man at her bus stop. Officers watched the bus stop for a few days before giving up. After that, the woman watched the stop with binoculars and a long-lens camera.

The first time she became aware of the man was May 16, when the woman said she happened to be watching her daughter and a man in a car drove up to the girl.

"I went right out there to ask who that person was, and she said, 'He told me to get in the car. He'd drive me to school. He showed me money, Mom. A bunch of it,' " the mother told the newspaper. "When she said this was the third time he's done this, I was flabbergasted.

"She said, 'He's stupid to think I'd fall for something like that.' I don't think it occurred to her how dangerous it was until she saw my reaction."

Police put unmarked surveillance cars at the bus stop for a few days, but when that ended, the mother armed herself with binoculars and a camera with a zoom lens and placed her car in view of the stop. She said she spotted the car near her daughter Thursday.

"I watched him pull up," the mother said. "She [her daughter] turned and looked at him and ran for the house. . . . He took off, and I took off after him at about 70, 75 mph."

If convicted, Siebers could face up to 20 years in prison. Bond was set at $25,000, but Siebers was ordered held because of possible violation of his parole.

The mother recorded the man's license plate and snapped a blurry picture of the car as she followed him. That led to Siebers' arrest.

In 1980, a plea-bargain agreement allowed Siebers to plead guilty but mentally ill to the August 1979 gunpoint rape of a store clerk. He also pleaded guilty to armed robbery and possession of a firearm during the commission of a felony, stemming from a November 1979 restaurant robbery.

In 1984, a judge reduced his sentence because he was described as a model prisoner.

(continued from page 17)

ion was interrupted by mob violence and their hall burned down. The year before that the Congregational denomination had issued a Pastoral Letter read from New England pulpits, denouncing the "unnatural" activity of white women in the anti-slavery cause. The Pastoral Letter particularly objected to the "promiscuous conversation of females" on a subject "which ought not to be named." Namely, the white slavemasters' rape and concubinage of Afrikan women slaves.

The spark caught fire in 1840, at the international abolitionist conference in London, when the u.s. delegation learned that its white women members would not be allowed by the male British abolitionists to take part. Elizabeth Cady Stanton recalled the rage of that moment:

"As Mrs. Mott [Lucretia Mott, Quaker preacher and feminist] and I ealked home, arm in arm, commenting on the incidents of the day, we resolved to hold a convention as soon as we returned home and form a society to advocate the rights of women."

So we started. Eight years would pass before they could plan & organize that meeting, which became the first Women's Rights Convention held at Seneca Falls, N.Y. on July 19 & 20, 1848.

The first white women's movement that grew from those anti-slavery roots was still part of the abolitionist movement. Its more radical members, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony, embraced not only suffrage (the right to vote) but the entire spectrum of issues bearing on the "Woman Question." Free love, divorce rights, criticism of christianity as anti-woman, white woman's right to wear "the bifurcated garment" (i.e.pants) and take white men's jobs at white men's pay--even as soldiers and sailors. This promised "Revolution" scandalized white settler men & for that matter the majority of white settler women for most of a century.

While envisioning a radical smashing of roles and rules laid down between white men and white women, feminists of that first movement didn't see themselves as separating from amerikkka. They didn't fight to extract themselves from the settler society. They didn't see themselves as having self-determination, being a separate people.

APPEAL TO THE WOMEN

OF THE

NOMINALLY FREE STATES,

ISSUED BY AN

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION

OF

AMERICAN WOMEN,

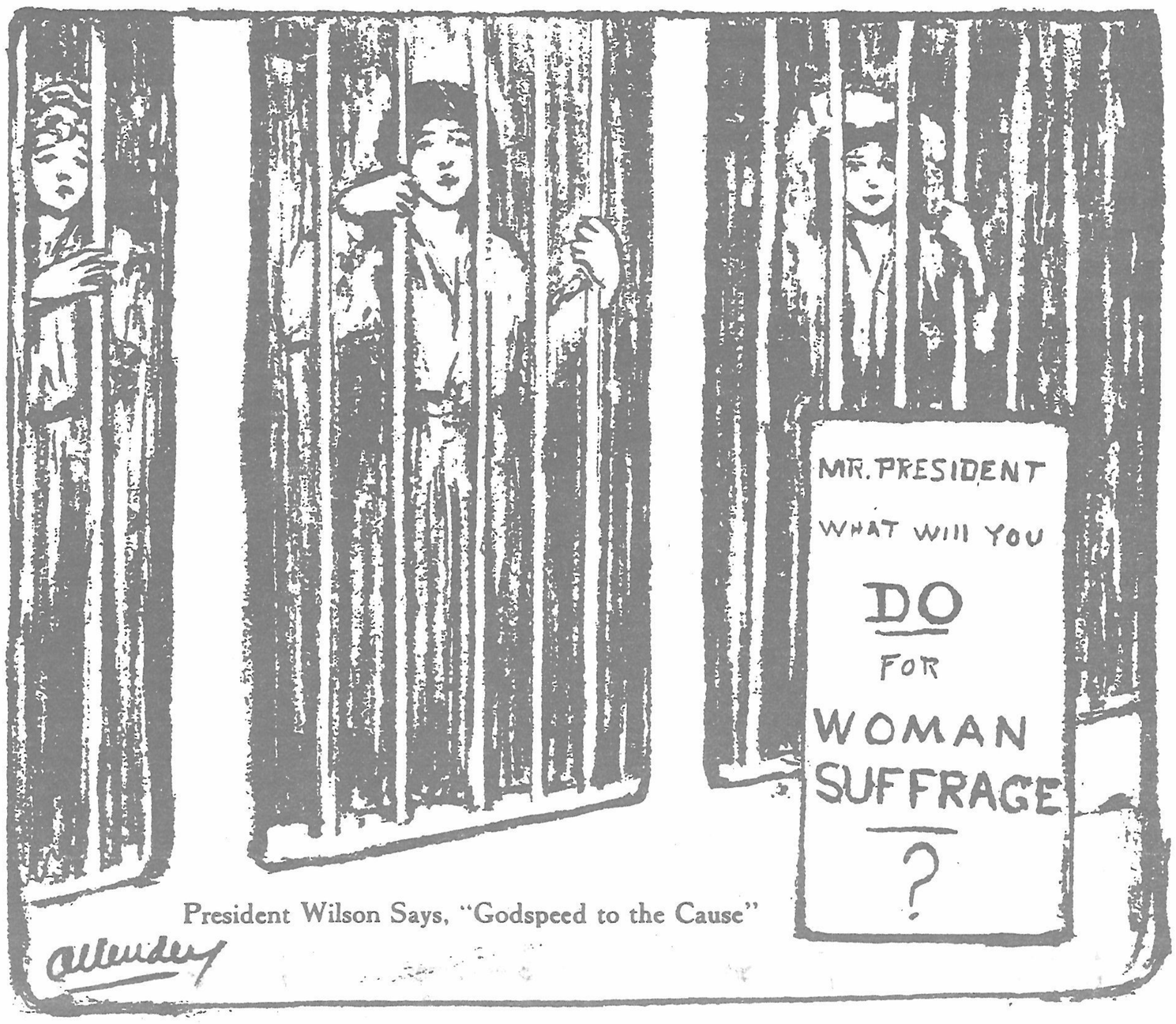
Held by adjournments from the 9th to the 12th of May, 1837.

The Suffragist

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OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1917



President Wilson Says, "Godspeed to the Cause"

This is for real, not rantin' & rhetoric. i'm not trying to trash those sisters for "not being radical enough." Don't we got the same dilemma in our dogma? Our ideas about our nationality & identity, however unconscious, and our actions out in the real world interact with each other. By seeing gender conflict in white amerikkkan terms, even radical white women domesticized white women's struggle. Shrinking it to the changing or equalizing of relations between white men & white women inside their Big House. But outside, the patriarchy was changing everything.

Patriarchal imperialism was uprooting & transforming the globe during the years of the white women's suffrage struggle. The young u.s.ruling class was ruthlessly driving their settler empire outward bound & growing into an industrial world power:

Winning a fratricidal Civil War to do a stock takeover on their planter-capitalist brethren of the Old Confederacy; settling the New Afrikan revolt of 2 million ex-slaves by forcing peonage and neo-colonial manhood "citizenship" on them; taking not only the upper 40% of Mexico, but grabbing Puerto Rico and the Philippines from the Spanish empire; racing Westward to the Pacific planting forts & settler communities & railroads while crushing Indian nations by the dozen; setting up great new hellish industries and importing the wretched of europe to labor in them; leaping into Asia to "open" Japan, take Hawaii, and push into China. Most of amerikkka's women property were not even white.

By conceding to the patriarchy the right to transform the real world around us, we ceded to them the right to determine our economy, the size & shape of our society, the whole social context in which we belonged. Isn't that the ballgame? Everything else is just pissing & moaning.

To be truly radical as their hopes early white feminists would have had to deal with the reality of this juggernaut, have had to find long-range feminist guerrilla solutions for resisting it & subverting it & separating from it as a people. Or be reintegrated by the juggernaut as really did happen to early white feminists. It's hard to begin to do this, but harder still to lose. After all, they spent 70 years & generations worrying about the vote--70 years to learn and build in could have meant alot to women's community.

Nothing better illustrates this than the realization that even radical white feminists of the first movement let the patriarchy determine their relationship to New Afrikan women. Women suffrage activists were angered in 1869 when the u.s. ruling class did the Fifteenth Amendment, forcing the ballot on disarmed New Afrikan men alone. White women had worked for

universal suffrage, giving the vote to them & New Afrikans at one stroke. At least, white women wanted the vote first if only one group would get it. For how, as one of their national leaders asked at a convention, could white men deny the ballot to the daughters of Washington and Jefferson but give it to "Sambo", white woman's servant? Good question.

The u.s.ruling class temporarily wanted New Afrikan men to have the vote to elect pro-Union state governments in the sullen ex-Confederacy. But a new electoral alliance of pro-slavery white men & white feminists like Susan B. Anthony fought the 15th Amendment in favor of woman suffrage first. That measure would have left New Afrikans outnumbered at the polls in the South by 2 to 1 (since white men already had the vote), ensuring the return to office of the forces of the Old Confederacy. With few exceptions, New Afrikan women accepted the 15th Amendment as a survival measure for their people. A permanent split came down between the white women's movement and the Black Nation.

After 1869, white feminism flipped the switch from anti-racist to pro-racist. There had always been a real identification with the oppressed, but for the white women's movement as a political vehicle there was a calculated dimension as well. They knew that patriarchy had no need or desire to give their women anything. It was only through some outside force or agency that white women could share white power. They hoped to be carried along by the Black Nation. That if amerikkkan men could be forced to grant freedom & political rights to even the lowly Afrikan slave, then surely the educated & well-bred daughters of the better white families would get as least as much. Just like respectable Betty Crocker feminism of the 1960s also intended to ride on the backs of New Afrikans without any fighting or suffering on their part, to cash in on the reforms created by their rebellion.

Both moderate & radical factions in the women's suffrage movement took up white supremacy as the best leverage they had. They reunited into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890. The main argument used was that we should be enfranchised to double the native-born white vote, making sure that inferior peoples such as New Afrikans, Mexicans, and poor immigrant workers from europe & Asia were kept out of government. A resolution at the 1893 NAWSA Convention said:

"...we call attention to the significant fact that in every state there are more women who read & write than all the illiterate male voters; more white women who can read and write than all the Negro voters; more American women who can read and write than all the foreign voters; so that the enfranchisement of such women would settle the vexed question of rule by illiteracy..."

These not-too-subtle appeals to bigotry were echoed even by radicals like Susan B. Anthony. In 1900, addressing a white racist men's trade union convention, she told them that feminism would serve them well:

"By working to give your wives and daughters the ballot you would be working to double the representation of the home in the government; for the lowest men--the men who make up the slum vote--these men seldom have homes and women in them whose votes could be added to theirs."

NAWSA was built on the principle of "States' Rights." It was publicly promised that white women would have the power to exclude New Afrikan women from the movement whenever and wherever they wanted. Most chapters were segregated, opposed to New Afrikan women having the right to vote.

Those white feminist leaders admitted that white men decided their relationship to New Afrikan women. The price of being accepted by amerikkka was to cede to the patriarchy the power to rule this relationship. Ida B. Wells is famous today as the founder & leader of the anti-lynching movement of the 1890s. She was an advocate of woman's suffrage & a leader of the New Afrikan women's clubs. But in 1913, when NAWSA held a national march on Washington to

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Quotations & Illustrations on the women's suffrage movement from Judith Papachristou's book, *Women Together*

Black Killers, Black Corpses: A Survivor's Story

By Judy Belk

Earlier this year, I was almost murdered. If I had been killed, I would have been the third homicide victim laid to rest in the Belk family in less than 10 years. I, like my other two relatives, would have also been one more example of the increasing rise in black-on-black crime.

In 1979, my sister Vickie, 28, was abducted on her way home from her government job in Washington, D.C. Her body was found a few days later wi[th] the head. Although her ca[se] cially unsolved, law-enforce[ment] tors strongly suspect she [was] eral victims randomly kill[ed] men on a rampage while [robbing]

More recently, my co[usin] was murdered in a spray [of bullets] of my aunt and uncle's [home] dria, Va. His brother Di[ed] survived with 11 bullet w[ounds] sailants, who were blac[k] machine guns and were [reported] had quarreled with the [assailants] day. Darryl just happe[ned to be in the] wrong place at the wrc[ng time].

My brush with deat[h] Sunday evening this pa driving my friend Joel a predominantly blac[k] Oakland, Calif., often "flatlands" in contrast ent and largely whit[e]

During the next fe[w] the incident over and ily members, police, r[e]surance adjusters– think about Vickie an puter printout that ha about 10 years ago.

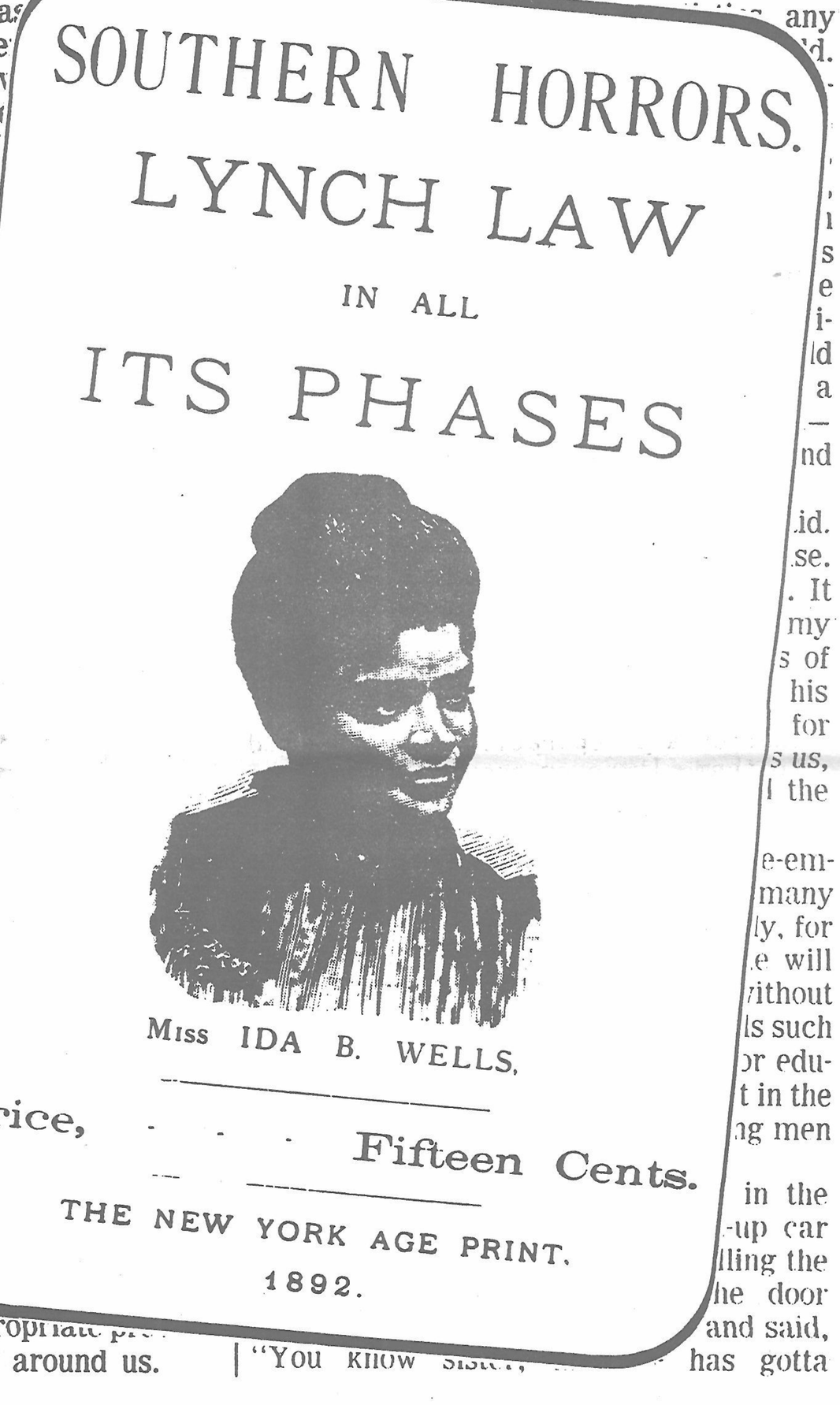
That's when I wa pate in an annual p[ro]ment at work. Each lengthy questionnai into a computer. Th detailing, among o most likely causes was that if your pr[o] heart attack, lung possibly preventable i you enough to take the appropriate p tive steps.

I was taken aback to find out the computer had identified homicide as one of the most likely causes of my demise. Why? Because I was a healthy black woman between the ages of 18 and 35. "Don't take it personally," I remember the programmer saying. "It's all based on statistics."

"Any suggestions for prevention?" I remember asking sarcastically. At the time, I dismissed it all as just another racist experience. A month later Vickie was dead. [Another tragic statistic.]

[...any]

[...ndow shattered around us.] "You know sist[er, ...] has gotta



reopen the campaign for suffrage, they asked Ida B. Wells to not march with them. They said they were afraid of offending the racist male politicians and klansmen that the women's movement counted on to help them get the vote. Strong New Afrikan women who led the fight against lynchings were too strong for white women.

We finally got that vote in the World War I days, 'cause the u.s. was moving to become the world power & wanted a solidly united white nation underneath it. "Americanization" campaigns back then signed up millions of immigrant white workers as citizens & white women's unity with Dick was on the agenda, too. So on Aug.26, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified & white women got the vote. Whoopie. i say white because the great majority of New Afrikan women didn't vote until their national liberation movement started shaking amerikkka again in the 1960s. No thanks to white women, period.

That first white women's movement represented women who were only starting to wake up as people. Brought over as property by white men, divied up one to a man, they were blank from genocide. Out of it, literally, while white settler men ran around their "New World" wheeling & dealing, stealing & raping. They had no existence here separate from Dick & wouldn't have even been here without him. They were still dazed, just starting to come alive.

The women's suffrage movement, because of that background, was still so blank from genocide that self-determination and separation never occured to them. It never occured to them that women had to do things that hurt & lessened white men. Even if personally they didn't want to be near white men, they still defined themselves as in social partnership with white men. That partnership they called "America" & so do i.

So they didn't question why they were "winning" the vote. How does that song go? "Think I'm winning, but I'm losing again." They had no scientific understanding of what defines winning and what defines losing. Anymore, i gotta say, than we do when we say that our growing "success" inside patriarchal institutions with our equal rights is winning.



Susan B. Anthony

Will The Federal Suffrage Amendment Complicate The Race Problem?

A little study will prove that the national enfranchisement of women will IN NO WAY complicate the race problem.

In all of the fifteen Southern States, except Mississippi and South Carolina, THE WHITE WOMEN GREATLY OUTNUMBER THE NEGRO WOMEN.

In nine of these States, THE WHITE WOMEN OUTNUMBER THE TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION.

There are in the Southern States 2,017,286 MORE WHITE WOMEN THAN NEGRO MEN AND WOMEN PUT TOGETHER.

The following table taken from the Census of 1910 proves this statement. The figures are for the total population of the States named. They may be found on page 100 of the Abstract of the 1910 Census.

STATES	Total Negro Population	White Women	Negro Women	Preponderance of White over Negro Women
Maryland	232,250	533,567	117,501	416,066
Virginia	671,096	685,446	340,554	344,892
North Carolina	697,843	745,659	358,262	387,397
South Carolina	835,843	335,617	427,765	-92,148
Georgia	1,176,987	707,314	586,724	120,590
Florida	308,669	211,089	147,307	63,782
Mississippi	1,009,487	384,055	506,691	-122,636
Alabama	908,282	608,941	466,488	142,453
Tennessee	473,088	841,810	239,378	602,432
Kentucky	261,656	987,918	130,164	857,754
Arkansas	442,891	544,606	219,568	325,038
Louisiana	713,874	460,606	360,050	100,576
Texas	691,049	1,533,411	345,108	1,188,303
Missouri	157,452	1,528,376	76,963	1,451,413
West Virginia	64,173	549,491	27,566	521,925
Total	8,644,640	10,661,926	4,354,089	6,307,837

In Mississippi and South Carolina, where negro women outnumber white women, negro men outnumber white men. There is no more reason why the presence of negro women should debar women from voting, than the presence of negro men debars men from voting.

Mississippi imposes a heavy educational qualification; South Carolina both an educational and a property qualification. If women voted, these qualifications would apply to women exactly as to men.

A FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT MERELY FORBIDS THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF A WOMAN ON THE SOLE GROUND THAT SHE IS A WOMAN.

There are to-day, in all our States, widely-varying voting qualifications—some wise; some unwise. Women did not frame these qualifications; and since women are disfranchised, they cannot change them. They merely ask that where a woman measures up to the standard required of a man, she may not be debarred from voting because she is a woman.

This will not make our electoral arrangements perfect, but it will remedy THEIR MOST GLARING INJUSTICE, THE ALMOST COMPLETE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN.

NATIONAL LITERATURE HEADQUARTERS
NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY
Lafayette Sq., Washington, D. C.

We don't question why our equal rights is so much stronger here than in any other white nation--whether Great Britain, Germany or the USSR? It's because settler women here in amerikkka have a special leverage--our ability to get concessions from Dick in return for helping him keep our New Afrikan property under control. Our willingness--no, eagerness--to step up on Black women & children is what makes white "feminism" so white.

It's still so hard for us today in 1990 to see ourselves as a people, who like any other must have self-determination (women's self-government). Who need our own army & laws, enforced by us, our own sciences & our own economy. This is where the road back from genocide runs.

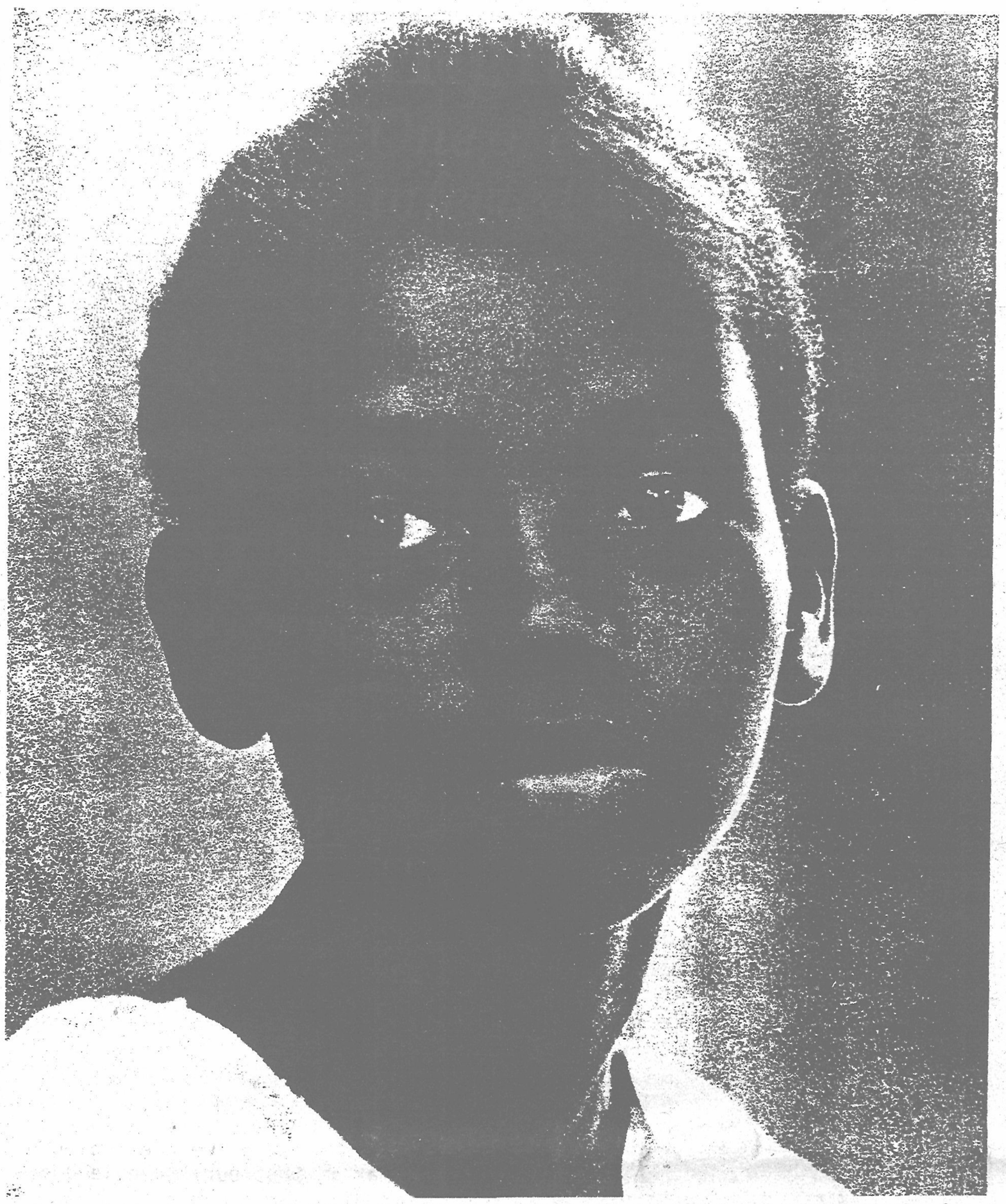
So in the decade of the 1920s two women's struggles came to conclusion. One we all know about & call a great victory, although it left us less than we were. The other, the 1926 Women's War in Nigeria, is unknown & unimportant to us. It was easily kept from us. Yet & again, when thousands of Afrikan women rose up against patriarchal imperialism, rose up specifically in defense of their women's economy & women's self-government, it was an affirmation of women's existence as a people. But we can't see it. Forgot it before we could learn it, just as Dick culled us & bred us & conditioned us to do. He did that to us, you know.

Audre Lorde writes in Sister Outsider: 'As white women ignore their built-in privilege of whiteness and define woman in terms of their own experience alone, the Women of Color become "other," the outsider whose experience and tradition is too "alien" to comprehend.'

Let's break that down more. What i'm getting to is that it isn't being Afrikan that's too alien for us to comprehend, it's being women that's too alien for us to comprehend.

SCIENCES OF RESISTANCE

Women have relative to men today much, much less science than the communities of women did before Man's



Everyone who had demonstrated lined up in the parking lot nearby. A pickup truck came tearing down the street and drove straight into the crowd. We all scattered except this girl, who wouldn't move. The truck slammed on its brakes, then hit her. She got up after that. She wasn't hurt too badly.

class society. Once most of the available technology was manifested in textiles, pottery, horticulture, medicine and other women's terrain. Women were once the artists, technicians & scientists of the human race. Today, patriarchy has developed whole sciences of their own, an overall male system of knowledge that gets things done the way they want it. However lumbering & messed up it is, it works for them this "B-52 science." The patriarchy says that our only ambition can be to join these sciences men have made for themselves & their world.

We are in the <u>first</u> stage of rediscovering and developing women's sciences in a modern context. There is no doubt that in, say, the year 1492 that much of women's sciences in one part of the world or another was superior to the science of patriarhal euro-capitalism. But they systematically blocked off the future development of those earlier women's sciences by destroying the economy & culture they grew out of. At the same time, euro-capitalism looted women's sciences around the world to enrich men's sciences. The analgesic tea brewed from tree bark by American Indian women was looted to be "discovered" as aspirin by German scientists, to use a household example.

It's wrong to mistake the <u>products</u> of science for the science itself. White men, for instance, spent over 500 years unsuccessfully trying to make alchemy work. Alchemy is the mythical secret of transforming base metals such as lead into gold. For 500 years euro-scientists worked & lusted after this---and in vain. But out of all their factual accumulation, their experiments with reagents, their work organizing knowledge learned from other peoples, came modern Western chemistry in the 17th century. Sir Issac Newton, the English discoverer of the law of inertia & a historic physicist and chemist, was also the last great alchemist. Sciences develop from diverse attempts to organize knowledge, from religions, from crafts, from wrong & even fantastical theories. Women's sciences were denied that full dialectic of development.

We are still beginners, not leaders. When it came to our own bodies, then we saw that women needed our own science. Wasn't the writing & publishing of <u>Our Bodies, Ourselves</u> such a milestone to us? Weren't feminist health collectives so basic to the early explosion of our women's movement? And isn't "Jane," the clandestine abortion service operated illegally by feminists in Chicago during the pre- Roe v. Wade dark ages, a prideful thing to us even now?

Because we knew that we could never take back control of our bodies from the patriarchy unless we had all the knowledge. Because we sense that that which we do for ourselves, communally as outlaws, outside of men's laws & structures, is what is most free. But most of us still don't understand that it revolves around the further development of our own communal sciences.

It was customary in "other" societies for reproduction to be controlled by the <u>community</u> of women. We know this, but we refuse to see what they did as involving science (i.e. an organized system of knowledge). A science that was political for women.

After the defeat of the 1890s Herero Rebellion in Namibia against German colonialism, for example, those Afrikan women went on a birth-strike. They refused to provide more children to be slave laborers for the white plantations. Noting that the Herero population fell from 80,000 to only 19,962 from 1892-1909, Maria Mies quotes a complaining white settler:

"After the rebellion the native, particular the Herero, often takes the stand not to produce children... While the German farmers have been trying for years to remedy this sad state of affairs by offering a premium for each child born on the farm, for instance, a she-goat. But mostly in vain. A section of today's native women has been engaged for too long in prostitution and are spoiled for motherhood. Another part does not want children and gets rid of them, when they are pregnant, through abortion. In such cases the authorities should interfere with all severity. Each case should be investigated thoroughly and punished by prison..."

Those Afrikan women in Namibia limited births as women's <u>strategy</u>, without any A.M.A. or Dr. Kildare, because there, as in much of the world, women healers had learned to use native herbs and plants to induce abortion. Afrikan women in the Slave South used wild tansy. In Surinam they used a vegetable flower called "seven-broom" and green pineapple. Rhoda Red-

Map leads to search for remains of girls

HODGENVILLE, Ky. — A 15-year-old girl killed a man who she said had chained her to a tree and raped her repeatedly for three weeks, and police used the man's hand-drawn map to search for the remains of two other missing girls.

The girl told police she was abducted by Phillip E. Clopton, 39, of Louisville and that she got free and killed him Thursday with his own shotgun while he slept.

Federal and state police began a search in three central Kentucky counties after a map and a journal found Friday at Mr. Clopton's backwoods campsite in La Rue County indicated two girls had been killed and dismembered. Divers also scoured the Rolling Fork River, but nothing was found, police said.



Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville, Mississippi. When Mrs. Hamer tried to register to vote, she lost her job as a plantation worker; in 1964 she ran for Congress in Senator Eastland's district.

Women overpower, hold assailant

GLENDALE, Calif. — A would-be purse-snatcher who threatened two women, saying he had a weapon, was overpowered and held by the women until police arrived, authorities said.

"He said, 'I have a knife.' So I gave up trying to hold onto my purse. But my daughter jumped on him and I had to help her. He was tall, but not strong," said Rumiko Sera, 57, of the attempted robbery Wednesday.

Bystanders helped the women hold onto the man, who "kept spitting on the men and saying he was going to give them AIDS," said Mrs. Sera's 31-year-old daughter, Ann Kunitake.

Police arrested Lino Ochoa, 28, for investigation of robbery.

Mr. Ochoa pleaded not guilty Friday to unrelated charges of robbery and assault with a deadly weapon, said Deputy District Attorney Michael Pargament. He said Mr. Ochoa also is accused of two other purse-snatching incidents, and allegedly has been driving a car that was reported stolen April 3.

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of amerikkka have never known any other life here than as Dick's live-in assistants in capitalism's invasion & occupation. If you think for a moment of "white woman" as a job title or a military rank you'll have a better sense of what i mean.

The other reason we need science to the max is that our struggle doesn't take place in a neutral setting, but within a vast killer culture. Like all oppressed people we need to be able to deal with force, with massive violence, as a practical fact of life. Every inch of this country and every body & blade of grass in it is owned by patriarchal imperialism, a killer culture which will butcher you and me, too, our kids & 10,000 other women the day they think it necessary. We know it, too, which is why we back down so often. Even on that one night a year when white women promise ourselves that someday we're going to take back what we lost.

Because we have no scientific understanding of genocide as a culture, no political-military science of our own (we are in fact still so colonized that many of us deny that women should even dare to have such a science), we are totally unable to deal with violence against women. We accept that as normal. The women's community has a great social analysis of rape, for instance, but hasn't idea one on what to do about it. No tactics, no strategy, no science. i say that the science of genocide can only be confronted by the science of war.

dock reminds sisters that Afrikan women slaves in Jamaica had not only used abortions to limit the supply of new slave labor but had resisted the slaveowner's attempts to impose monogamous marriage to Afrikan men on them. By controlling their reproductive power those sisters played a big role in bringing down chattel slavery in the British colonies:

"...they were surprised by the resistance shown by the slave women who...recognized clearly their position as the property of the plantation owners. The fact is, that for more than 100 years, the majority of slave women in the Caribbean were neither wives nor mothers and by exercising control over their reproduction capabilities were able to deeply affect the plantation economy."

It's fact that communities of Afrikan women had an early science of reproduction different from that of Harvard & Yale. A non-invasive women's science passed on by healers from mother to daughter. They had, relative to the euro-patriarchy of their time, more science than we do now. Which is why college-educated white women who feel quite superior to "other" have to beg the Big Nine for Dick's permission to buy an abortion, while Afrikan slave women controlled their reproduction as a communal conspiracy despite the watchful eye & the lash of the slave overseer. We think we're so superior, but really we're backward & dependent.

White women are just beginning to see the dimensions of our need for sciences of resistance. Our need in the first place because we have to re-invent ourselves as a people, almost from scratch (and isn't that what we've been struggling towards for 20 years now?). It isn't a matter for us of simply having equal rights, because free women's community with its culture, its structure of relationships, its material foundation in production and reproduction, has long been wiped out in euro-civilization. White women

THE SCIENCE OF GENOCIDE

i'm interested in this, in the ineffectiveness of anything white women have done about rape. Why nobody thinks it's odd. To me that's so strange it really stands out. A sister who did

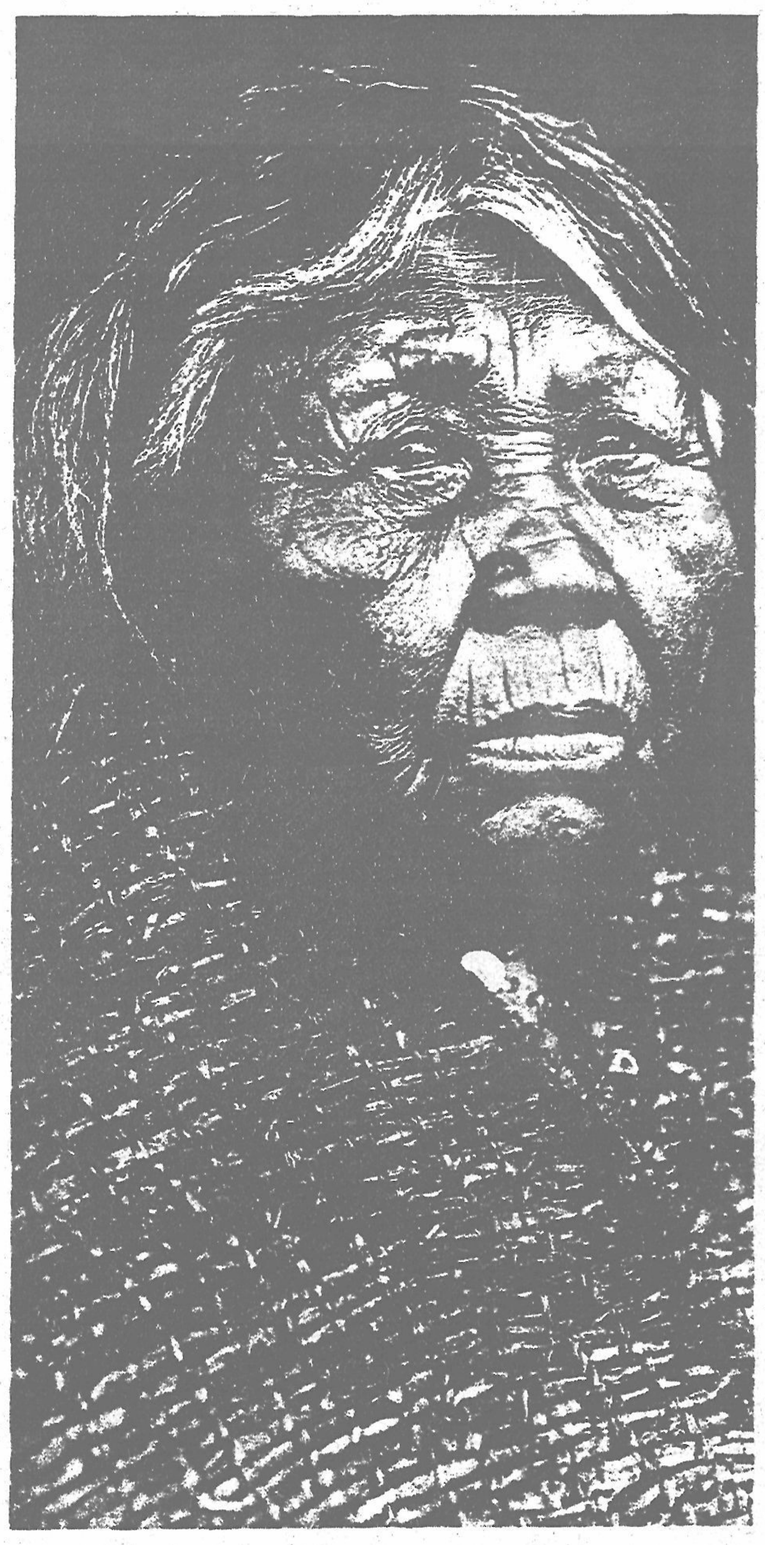
support work for rape survivors later said: "Once when I was speaking to a large group of women about ending rape, someone asked me if I <u>really</u> believed that rape could be ended in my lifetime. Silenced for a moment, I replied that even if I didn't live long enough, perhaps my daughters would be free from male violence someday." She was brought up short because she didn't know what to say. Obviously, it had never occurred to her that she'd ever see an end to rape. And nobody thinks it's odd.

Proof in science is defined as the ability to predict (& hence to use in practice), whether it's about the stresses distributed along an airplane wing or the evolution in the relationship of nations. So we have a backed-up mountain of good insights about rape, but no scientific understanding yet. We're stalled because our practice & thinking have to be kicked still deeper into the heart of our fears: "To be radical is to go to the root." Rape can't be fully understood by itself, because it is a function of something larger--genocide.

<u>Genocide deals with gender</u>. That's the first thing we have to put down to replace the Hollywood cliche of genocide as only a police roundup in the night. It's true that the Indian nations were destroyed so that white settlers could steal their land to put up "America the beautiful from sea to shining sea." But when we break down <u>how</u> the process worked we see how much it centered on women, how it used gender & how rape was introduced to this continent as part of the process. i want to trace this example, since it's so much a part of us.

For much of the first century of white invasion, the small settler communities lived off of selling Indian women. Not only to support themselves, but to get the capital to buy the Afrikan slaves that would become the economic foundation of all whitelife. Genocide, after all, isn't an irrational "mad minute" but a vast economic activity. It must pay for itself & yield profits. Just as the butchering & looting of millions of women "Witches" did for the patriarchy in europe from the 13th to the 18th centuries. Just as the mass looting of Jewish homes, shops and businesses was like winning the lottery to many law-abiding German women.

Settler men from Massachusetts down to Florida led bloody raids to kill all Indian men, wipe out those communities & occupy their lands, while paying for this war effort not with u.s.savings bonds but by enslaving & marching off all the Indian women and children they could find. In the colonial era hundreds of thousands of Indian women & children became white property. Most Indian men were considered too risky to hold as P.O.W.s; most were massacred. While most Indian women & children P.O.W.s were sold to the West Indian slave plantations & a quick but profitable extinction. We built not only "New" York and "New" Jersey and "New" England," but New Auschwitz, too.



Skokomish Woman

Throughout the early colonial amerikkka, Indian slave women labored in the fields & in the homes. In New York the settler government had to pass futile resolutions in the 1680s that peaceful Indians "are free and not slaves," because white men were simply taking Indian women & children for "lifetime servants" when they found them unarmed. In 1730 a census of Kingston, Rhode Island, found that the community owned 220 Indian women and children & 330 Afrikans. We can imagine the satisfaction that white men had, not only wiping out Indian communities but paying for it by having Indian women as their property to do with as they pleased.

It was in the South, the Carolinas and Florida, that the slave trade in Indian women & children was most bloody. For the Southern Indian nations and peoples were more numerous than those along the New England and Mid-Atlantic coast. North Carolina & South Carolina were founded as white settlements on the traffic in Indian women. In North Carolina's war against the Tuscarora all the settler armies were led by slave traders, and were in fact slave-raiding parties. One led by the veteran slaver James Moore is described this way:

"Storming the Tuscarora fort at Nooherooka in March 1713, they soundly defeated the North Carolina tribe. Several hundred of the enemy were burned alive in the fort; 166 male captives regarded as unsuitable for slavery were slaughtered; and 392 Tuscaroras, mostly women and children, were led back to the Charleston slave market."

Those Charleston slave merchants themselves touched off the Yamasee war in 1715, when they began the policy of seizing & auctioning off Yamasee women and children to pay debts for rum allegedly incurred by Yamasee men. Already the slaver Thomas Moore had extended his raids into Spanish Florida in 1704. In only six years after that, South Carolina settlers had captured some 10,000 to 12,000 women & children of the Timucas, Guales, and Apalachees in Florida for the busy Charleston slave market.

Were the small numbers of white settler men able to defeat far larger Indian populations because of more advanced european weapons & military



Navajo



Susan Meiselas, *Soldiers searching bus passengers, Northern Highway,* from *El Salvador*



Susan Meiselas, *Mother and daughter killed by government bombing, San Francisco Javier,* from *El Salvador*

organization? No, our invading euro-capitalism committed genocide with the weapon of war and the weapon of culture. Drawing Indian nations and peoples into its commodity civilization as addicts & property. Arming as many Indian men with guns as they could. Addicting as many Indians to rum and other trade goods as they could. Decade after decade, in a protracted war that was called something else. To get these commodities they'd become addicted to & protect their own safety, Indian men cooperated with the settlers in warring for Indian women of other nations.

Most of the fighting & capturing was done, in fact, by Indian men. In James Moore's 1713 expedition against the Tuscarora, for instance, he had only 33 white colonists with him but a large force of 900 Cherokees, Yamasees, Creeks, and Catawbas. More often the settlers lay back & bribed Indian nation to attack Indian nation until both were decimated.

In explaining the triumph of small numbers of settlers in destroying Indian civilization in the area we call South Carolina, one author says:

"By 1717 a white population of only about 1,500 males had succeeded in employing the larger tribes to enslave and shatter nearly a dozen coastal tribes and then had driven a wedge between the Creeks and the Cherokees at the moment when an alliance between them might have ended English presence in the region. Throughout this process, covering almost half a century, the primary weapon of the English had been trade goods."

In this process, rape as we know it, as an ever-present fact of life for women & a major structure of society, was introduced to this continent. Many indigenous peoples say that in their traditions they didn't even have the concept of rape. i've been told that in the whole colonial English period--1620 to 1776--there is not one case of a settler woman being raped by Indian men. But if settler men freely raped and used the bodies of their Afrikan women slaves, as we know they did, then why should we think it any different for Indian women.

Christopher Columbus, in his official reports to his royal patrons, naturally makes no mention of rape. He and his men did capture seven Indian women for the return trip to Spain, purely for chaste reasons he assured Queen Isabella. None of them lived to reach europe. On his second trip in November 1493, his ship captured an Indian woman on the island of St. Croix. We know this only because he gave her as a gift to a friend on the ship, Michael de Cuneo, who wrote about it in his account of the voyage. "I wanted to have my pleasure of her," de Cuneo wrote, but she fought him fiercely, lacerating his face. But after he beat and lashed her, de Cuneo concluded with satisfaction, "I don't mind telling you that she seemed to have been raised in a school for whores." I think it's fitting that Columbus Day is an amerikkkan national holiday--only shouldn't we call it Rapist Day?

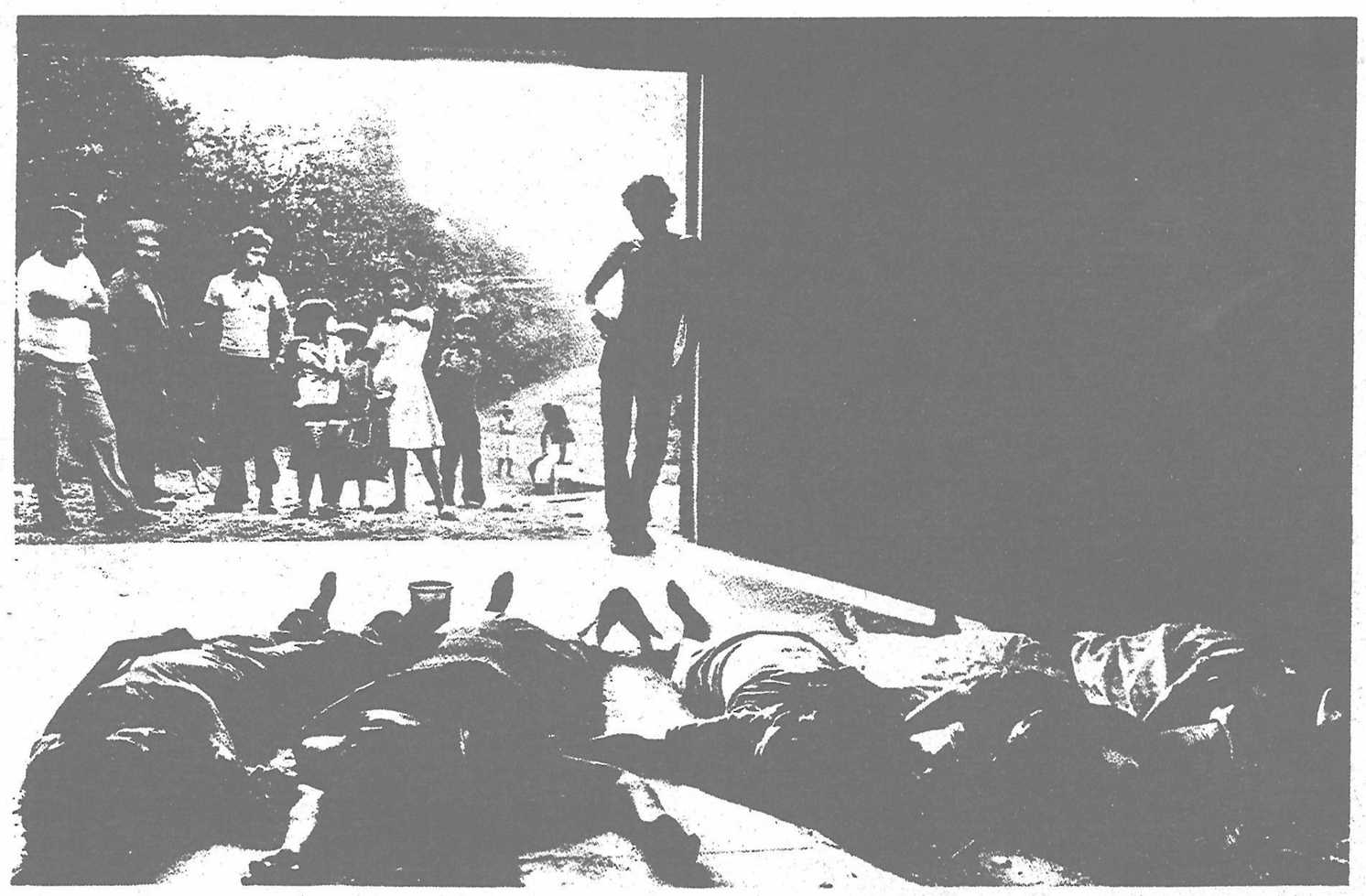
A 1715 report from a Virginia Indian slave trader to his London agent mentions the rapes of Indian women during his expeditions. The London proprietors of the South Carolina colony rebuked the settlement's traders in writing for their infamous practices, starting with rape:

"...to ravish the wife from the Husband, Kill the father to get the Child and to burne and Destroy the habitations of these poore people into whose Country wee were Cheerfully received by them, cherished and supplyed when wee are weak, or at least never have done us hurt."

Almost twenty years ago our women's movement began identifying rape as an institution of political terrorism of the oppressed by the oppressor. We said that rape is to women as lynching is to Black people. It was economically important back in 1900s Alabama that most New Afrikans would not be lynched. What was also important was that the ever-present threat of lynching over them all, of a sudden mob hunt & brutalization & ritual white murder of a Black colonial subject, was a constant pressure to conform to all the rules of behavior for the property that you were. Same with women & rape. When those settler men raped Indian women & children P.O.W.s they were branding



Flathead Child



Chris Steele-Perkins, *Female victims of death squad, Apopa*, from *El Salvador*



Harry Mattison, *People trying to escape being trampled*, from *El Salvador*

them as property while getting their rocks off. Trying to terrorize them to suppress resistance. The personal is very political.

The genocide which began with the smaller Indian tribes of the coastal areas grew into the Removal Act of 1830, during the administration of the populist slaveowner president Andrew Jackson. The Removal Act ordered that lands East of the Mississippi River be sterilized of all Indian nations and peoples. While many small groups of Indians hid out & survived in dense forests and swamplands (the Seminole in Florida waged a 30-year guerrilla war that eventually forced the u.s. to let them stay), most were moved out West by the gestapo. On the infamous Trail of Tears the captive Cherokee Nation, marching under duress through the winter of 1838 without food or winter clothing, lost one-third of its people en route.

Then, too, the genocide was centered on women. President Andrew Jackson told the gestapo to finish the business by killing Indian women as their main target. We didn't hear that in men's history classes or even in women's studies. No wonder in 1990 we still have people saying that you can do genocide by killing men."An endangered species." No, to end a nation or people you gotta kill the women & children; that's obvious biological fact and cultural fact as well.

Segregation, the removal of all Eastern Indian survivors to koncentration kamps called something else, was a move in a long, protracted 200-year process of genocide. But so was integration, for even way back then there were loving white men promoting the idea of peaceful togetherness of Indian and white. Indian women, of course.

u.s.president Thomas Jefferson proposed integration as a final solution to the dwindling Indian nations. In his negotiations with the Mohicans, Munries & Delawares, Jefferson urged them to stop being so communal & join settlers in euro-capitalism:

"When once you have property, you will want laws and magistrates to protect your property and persons, and to punish those among you who commit crimes. You will find our laws are good for this purpose; you will wish to live under them, you will unite yourselves with us, join in our Great Councils and form one people with us, and we shall all be Americans; you will mix with us by marriage, your blood will run in our veins, and will spread with us over this great land."

u.s.president Jefferson favored the elimination of all Afrikans on this continent, starting with the children; believing that white men would never be safe otherwise (a view that's more popular than ever). But when it came to Indians he wanted integration, This was consistent. Privately, Jefferson wrote his envoys that any Indians who refused to join "will be wiped out to the last person." Notice he said "person" and not "man." i mean, our Founding Fathers were real pros in the business of genocide. That's what their main business was as a society. Same today with us.

When Jefferson was proposing intermarriage & Indians biological cross-over with white society, he sure wasn't talking about his granddaughter getting down with Crazy Horse. No, no, we can be sure of that! What he meant was that Indian women should become sexually more available to white men, that their daughters' bodies should be available to white men, and so on until Indians vanished.

To this day, white men have a fantasy love affair with Indian women. Indians joke that every other white man they meet says that their great-grandmother was an Indian princess. In public school, did we learn about the many Indian sisters who were extraordinary for their strength & independence, but who were part of societies where that was normal? Nope. We learned about Pocahontas, who supposedly loved white men so much she saved Capt. John Smith's life. That's the only thing i can remember they taught us about Indian women--how much (just like us) they supposedly loved white men. And isn't that what the rapist always says afterwards? "She loved it." "She wanted me to do it." "It's her fault."

When did genocide against Indian nations and peoples end? Doesn't seem to me that it's ever ended, but i'll let Indian sisters answer that. What i do know is that the process centered on Indian women & children is still alive inside us.

Last night i was flipping through the latest issue of New Directions for Women, and there was Lynn Wenzel's "Westward the Women," a composite review of seven books on frontier women. She's into this story because it's her family's,too : "Proudly, my grandmothers and great aunts kept alive the memories and exploits of the hardy pioneer women who settled this country..." She tells us:

"My great-great-grandmother Annie Carr was living in Arizona in the

early 1870s. One morning she saw dust and heard hoofbeats and realized Geronimo's band of marauders were approaching her homestead. Pregnant Annie grabbed her children. Terrorized, they hid in the root cellar... Only later did I come to understand what terrible treacheries had made a renegade out of a warrior."

i think that's a pretty average point of view for us: pride in our white foremothers & forgiveness for those Indians who got hostile at it all. But what was it like from women's point of view (as opposed to a white point of view), this Arizona frontier of the 1870s? And what were the things unnamed that turned Geronimo into a "renegade"? From a history book:

"More than anything else, it was probably the incessant kidnapping and enslavement of their women and children that gave Apaches their mad-dog enmity toward the whites... It was officially estimated that 2,000 Indian slaves were held by the white people of New Mexico and Arizona in 1866, after 20 years of American rule--unofficial estimates placed the figure several times higher...'Get them back for us,' Apaches begged an Army officer in 1871, referring to 29 children just stolen by citizens of Arizona; 'our boys will grow up as slaves, and our little girls, as soon as they are large enough, will be diseased prostitutes, to get money for whoever owns them...' Prostitution of captured Apache girls, of which much mention is made in the 1860s and 1870s, seemed to trouble the Apaches exceedingly."

Do you think the settler women in that small frontier community didn't know what was happening? Of course they knew. When the menfolk are laughing about what they did to the Indian girl yesterday while you're cooking their supper, of course *you know. How could you not*, as a woman? It must have burned in your guts, that anger & fear of knowing.

To be a renegade is to be a traitor, a turncoat, a person who abandons their principles or people for another. Geronimo and his small band of freedom fighters were not that. But there were people there who had changed their principles and people for another. There were people whose only life was to help white men build the community of rape & enslavement of "other" women and children. And if today we're proud of what they did, see them as brave models of what we should be--then what is our culture?

The point is we don't have a culture of our own yet. We have a role inside white men's culture; we have a niche inside patriarchal imperialism. It wasn't only Indians and Afrikans who were property, after all. When euro-capitalism invaded this continent, the settler men brought with them their most "precious" property, the white women that would be their homes, be available for sex, and that would reproduce their own children. In return for being so useful in euro-capitalism's Big House, settler women got to share in a higher standard of living than we had back in poverty-stricken old europe.



Apache Baby

If we can see that many Indian men were lured by addiction and social bribery into taking part in *their own destruction, we should be* able to see even better that the most important group being socially bribed to take part in genocide were and are white women.

That's why we blank out of our minds the systematic rape & slavery of Indian and Afrikan women in genocide. We feel proud of the pioneer white women who were serving the rapists and slavers. Oh, and the

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imperialist patriarchy still owns us so deeply that we truly believe these attitudes are "feminism."

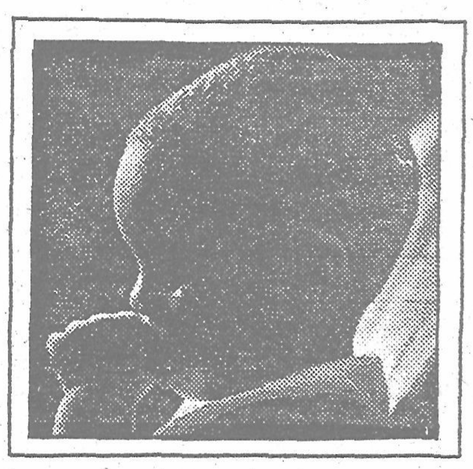
But it isn't just bribery in the material sense. We, too, are kept as property by terrorism. Every Indian woman or child raped & enslaved back then was also a salutory example for settler women. A real threat, like the burning of "Witches" was. Like Death Squads are. Like women's prisons are. We are conditioned to be loyal to Dick's genocide, to never see anything or say anything. Or else. Like those German aryan women (our closest sis) who listened to those cattlecars full of Jews going by in the night, but never ever knew anything. 'Cause it might be them in the cattlecar, their daughter being raped, them in the koncentration kamp. We know Dick will turn on "his" women in a flash if he feels threatened or betrayed or just for the hell of it. So we are used to purchasing our flimsy piece of safety with our conformity to all his rules for the property that we are. That's why we back down so often.

When we were culturally sterilized in genocide we lost much of what women are. Because when you become property you aren't what you were, you're made to become something else. That's the idea. Just as the livestock in the agri-factory are not even biologically anymore the wild & free animals they once were. i use this comparison deliberately. Now "women" has been redefined in us. "Women" are fearful, weak, possible

THE CRACK LEGACY
SYSTEM UNDER SIEGE

'Sitting on a Time Bomb Waiting for Kids to Die'

D.C. Child Welfare Services Overmatched

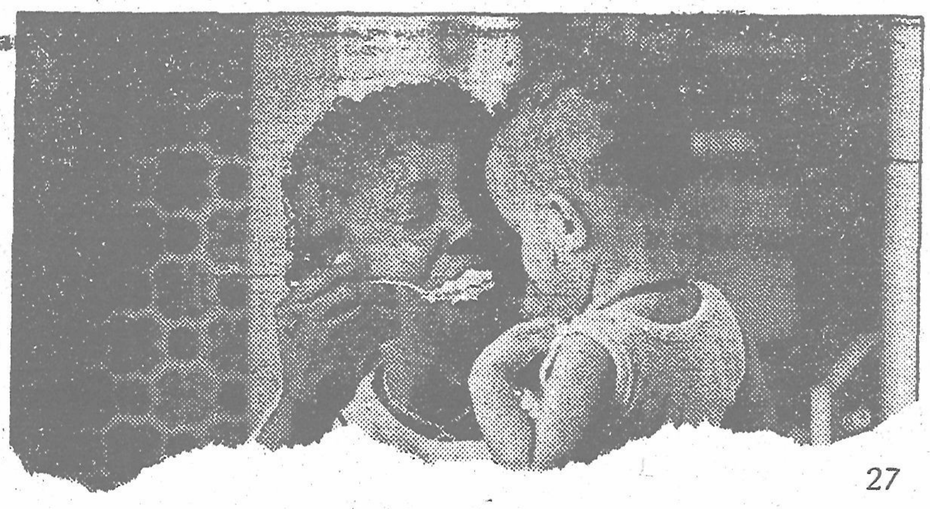


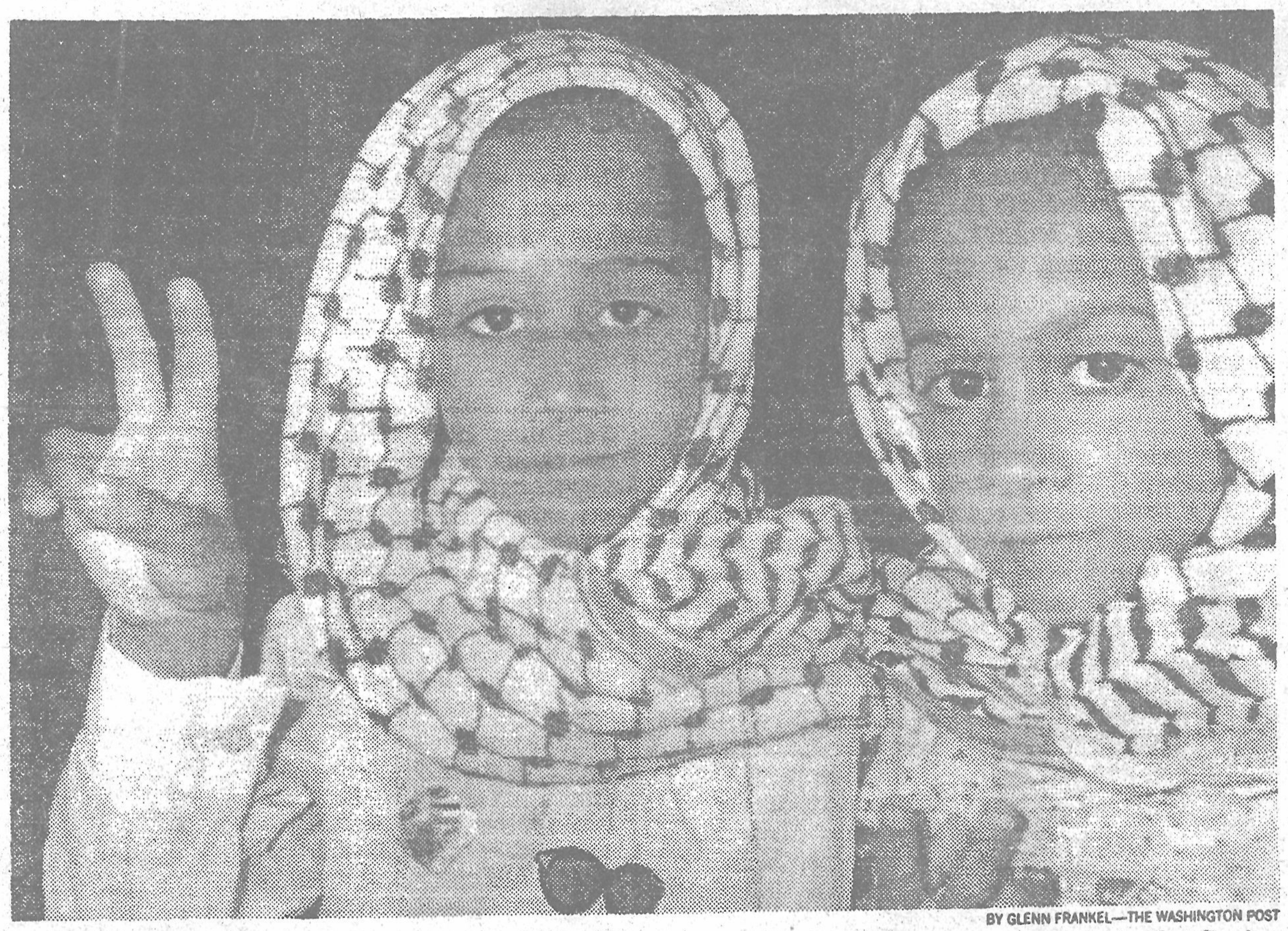
Last of Three Articles

By Marcia Slacum Greene
Washington Post Staff Writer

Children whose families have been ripped apart by the District's crack cocaine epidemic are being victimized twice: once by the drug scourge and again by a child welfare system beset with long-standing operational problems.

More than half of the system's au[illegible]ized social work po[illegible]
Social [illegible]





BY GLENN FRANKEL—THE WASHINGTON POST

Mimouna Shukarna, 9, wearing pin with Palestinian flag, stands at left beside younger sister in Nahalin in West Bank.

victims of rape & other attack at any time. Always calculating whether it's safe to wear this, walk there, or say that. That's normal to us. "Women" have no community, but live & work completely split up in men's community. That's normal to us. "Women" cannot decisively defend ourselves either with fight or flight, unlike most beasts on the face of the earth. "Women" are not allowed territory, and by custom & law cannot patrol, curfew, or bar men out. That's all normal to us. What we think is not normal is being amazons.

That's why i get so angry at the colonized fantasies of so many white middle-class feminists, that we should simply wish ourselves back to those ancient non-violent matriarchies or non-conflictual communal bands. That using uzis or building a clandestine liberation culture is "playing men's game", is "using tools of the patriarchy."

Let me say it better so it really is in plain sight: If women could have nonviolently stopped genocide they would have. Do you think that we're so much smarter & tougher than those Afrikan women and Indian women? They did the very best they could, protected their sisters & children the best they knew how. Don't dismiss our sisters so lightly. Peaceful non-military societies cannot stand up to predatory societies. It didn't work the first time around, when our women's science & abilities were much more developed and our enemy was much weaker than he is today. And we, too, need the weapon of culture. And the weapon of war.

TO BE CONTINUED.....

amazon nation or aryan nation